

David's Jerusalem

Between Memory and History

By Daniel D. Pioske

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
AHR	<i>The American Historical Review</i>
AJSRev	<i>Association for Jewish Studies Review</i>
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Edited by J.B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. Princeton, 1969.
ARAB	D.D. Luckenbill, <i>Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia</i> . Chicago: 1926/27.
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeological Review</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des Antiken Judentums
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BthZ	<i>Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
COS	<i>The Context of Scripture</i> . Edited by W.W. Hallo. 3 vols. Leiden, 2003.
CR:BS	<i>Currents in Research: Biblical Studies</i>
CTU	<i>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places</i> . Edited by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. (KTU: Second, enlarged edition). Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.
DtrH	Deuteronomistic History: Deuteronomy—2 Kings
EA	El-Amarna tablets. According to the edition of J.A. Knudtzon. <i>Die el-Amarna-Tafeln</i> . Leipzig, 1908–1915.
ErIsr	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
ESHM	European Seminary in Historical Methodology

FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HALOT	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Study Edition. Translated and edited under the supervision of M.E.J. Richardson. 2 vols. Leiden, 1994–1999.
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
JANES	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>
JNES	<i>Journal for Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
KAI	<i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> . H. Donner and W. Röllig. 5th ed. Wiesbaden, 2002
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NEAEHL	<i>New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> . 4 Volumes. Ed. E. Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
OLB	Orte und Landschaften der Bibel
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy
PEQ	<i>Palestinian Exploration Quarterly</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAHL	Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SJOT	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SWBA	Social World of Biblical Antiquity
TA	<i>Tel Aviv</i>

TAD	B. Porten and A. Yardeni. <i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt</i> . 4 Volumes. Jerusalem, 1986–1999
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VT ^{Sup}	Vetus Testamentum: Supplement Series
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZAH	<i>Zeitschrift für Alteshebraistik</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Verein</i>

Acknowledgments

The following pages are marked by an interest in those places of our world “which have more of the past about them than the present,” as the central character of W.G. Sebald’s *Austerlitz* observes, and where one “feels, almost physically, the current of time slowing down in the gravitational field of oblivion.”¹ Brought up on stories about families connected to various agrarian relics scattered across the farmsteads on which I was raised, an enchantment with places and the memories they possess was something that took hold of me at an early age.

The history of David’s Jerusalem in what follows began as a dissertation written under Dr. F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp at Princeton Theological Seminary. Throughout the writing and rewriting of this work, Professor Dobbs-Allsopp has provided numerous, careful readings, offered key suggestions for improvement, and displayed a remarkable generosity of spirit that has considerably lightened the burden such projects can be. To say that I owe him everything would not begin to express the debt owed.

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Many others are owed a word of thanks. Princeton Theological Seminary afforded the opportunity of research through a generous doctoral fellowship, and the American Schools of Oriental Research provided this author with a Heritage Fellowship for archaeological work abroad. Time spent at Union Theological Seminary, New York, as a postdoctoral fellow was invaluable for the research and writing of this work, and the wider network of scholars in the New York area offered the rich opportunity to engage leading thinkers across the field. I am also indebted to Lawrence Stager and Daniel Master for allowing a novice to participate in their exciting excavation at Ashkelon, Israel, and to David Schloen for offering the opportunity

to journey to the foothills of the Amanus Mountains and take part in the Neubauer Expedition at Zincirli, Turkey. From them all, I received crucial insights into the mind and craft of the archaeologist.

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This book was often written with my parents, David and Starla, in mind. It is my hope that they see within these pages a different type of harvest than that to which they are accustomed in the northern farm country of the Midwest, and perceive within it reasons behind an absence that was never intended to be of such length. Lastly, this work would not have come into being without the love and encouragement of my wife, Suzette, who first met me at the beginning of this project and, grace upon grace, was married to me by its end.

NOTE

1. W.G. Sebald, *Austerlitz* (2001): 257.

Introduction

Place, Memory, and the History of David's Jerusalem

Place conserves while time destroys.¹

The following study of David's Jerusalem is animated by a broad historical interest in how place shaped human experience in antiquity. By experience, I mean those practices carried out in response to the landscape of a particular location at a moment in time, from the mundane activities of daily life to the jurisdiction exercised by those positioned in authority. What I also intend by experience, however, is a sense of time and culture conveyed through the encounter with the surroundings of a venerable location. For to be in a place once occupied by others is to be exposed to the material remains of multiple pasts that attest to former happenings and beliefs, and it is through the preservation of these traces that a place lends itself to a consideration of those agents and processes that once took place within them. It is this multifaceted experience of the entanglements of different eras in time perpetuated through the materiality of a location that provides the impetus behind the varied techniques used in this volume to retrace the history of David's Jerusalem.

This study's methodological approach toward a history of place stems principally from the recognition that history *takes place*.² Accordingly, there resides in place a priority for historical reflection that, if not equal to temporality, at least draws near to its importance. What this means in practice is that every historical inquiry is, in some sense, place-bound, and that an investigation into a certain event, idea, or individual from antiquity will always require the historian to travel to those places in the past from which a particular historical phenomenon arose. The historian can of course disregard the character of such places in pursuit of other questions, but to do so risks overlooking those important causal factors, some obvious and others less so, that have contributed to the course of history, from the difficult terrain of a region to an ideology connected to a city's monumental structures. Attending to the history of place is therefore an attempt to take account of the contingency of historical movements and occurrences at the places in which they developed, and to perceive in place something more than a

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lifeless background on which history unfolds, but a decisive agent in the shaping of history itself.

Place finds additional meaning for the historian of the ancient world, however, by virtue of the way in which a location resists the wearing away of time and endures. “Place does not perish,” Aristotle comments in a remarkable section of his *Physics*, “when things in it cease to be.”³ There is, then, something permanent about a place that gestures toward the historian of an ancient culture, whose research cannot be supported as opposed to the historian of more modern periods, through vast archives of contemporaneous texts, drawings, photographs, or film. The value of place for the historian of antiquity therefore resides in a location’s capacity to conserve and persist, and through this act of preservation, the historian is allowed to revisit certain remains and reflect on the ancient lives and cultures connected to them. Unable to converse with David or record a cultic ritual within Jerusalem’s Iron Age temple, the historian of ancient Israel is nevertheless able to observe beneath the Haram es-Sharif the narrow spur on which the City of David once stood, to pass by the Gihon Spring that watered this settlement in ancient times, and to draw near to the Stepped Stone Structure that once supported an impressive Iron Age complex. In an uncanny manner, one is thus able to experience features of a Jerusalem that were experienced by its inhabitants over three thousand years ago.

This unique, even unsettling, commingling of past and present within a location has come to form an important theme in recent theory and literature devoted to place, particularly concerning the manner in which certain locations call to mind memories related to what once transpired within



Figure 0.1 The Ruins of the Bronze Age City of Enkomi (Cyprus)

them.⁴ More recently, historians have picked up these strands of thought and applied them, for example, to historical considerations of how the ruins of German cities evoked certain memories of World War II among those who survived its catastrophes, or to an analysis of a memory culture coerced into being through the creation of public monuments and rituals at consecrated places.⁵ Accordingly, a significant point of historical interest probed within these studies has been the different ways in which the physical attributes of a place contribute toward the shaping of a remembered past among those who visit and revisit a location. And a key question this research brings to the fore, consequently, is how this remembered past pertains to the historical knowledge claimed through the historian's critical inquiry into what once was.

What is striking about the texts preserved in the Hebrew Bible is that their ancient stories already exhibited a deep awareness of this relationship between place and memory. A noteworthy instance of this familiarity with the commemorative properties of a location can be located in the narrative devoted to Israel's crossing of the Jordan River in Josh 4:5b-7. At this key juncture in the story, the narrator relates that Joshua ordered tribal leaders to perform a peculiar task. Joshua commands:

Each man shall take up a stone on your shoulder, one each for the number of the tribes of Israel, so that this may be a sign for you. When your children ask in a time to come, "What do these stones mean for you?" You shall answer them that the waters of the Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of Yhwh. When it crossed over the Jordan, the waters of the Jordan were cut off. Thus these stones will be a memorial (*zikkārôn*) for Israel forever.

Regardless of the historicity of this event, what is significant about this story for the present study is the manner in which a sense of place and its materiality—the landscape of the Jordan, the stones taken from the river bed and set up as a monument on its banks—was recognized by the biblical writers as an essential *aide mémoire* by which the Israelite community was to remember an important moment in its collective past. Significant as well are the many other stories in the Hebrew Bible that also share this awareness of memory's intimate relationship to the tangible reality of place.

The implications of the connection between place and memory for the history of David's Jerusalem in what follows are essentially twofold. First, the "elective affinity" between meaningful places and the memories they elicit within a community,⁶ to cite Casey's study, suggests that an interpretive framework used to reconstruct the history of David's Jerusalem, or any location of renown from antiquity, must be sensitive to the interconnections that are obtained between the physical features of an ancient site unearthed through archaeological research and those cultural memories preserved about it within ancient texts. In a time before written documents

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were numerous and literacy widespread, the stories told about a location's past would have often derived, I argue, from those memories recalled about it in response to a place's natural and built environment. In assessing the historical value of ancient texts steeped in the memories of a collective past, it is necessary then to examine how those literary references about a location cohere with the material remains recovered from a particular period in that location's history. The strong bond between place and memory, in other words, precludes any attempt at reconstructing the history of an ancient site that would isolate an interpretation of its material remains from those texts written about it.

Second, the strong influence of place on memory indicates that the changing physical appearance of a location over time—the erection of new buildings, the expansion of new neighborhoods, the erosion of old landscapes—would have also reframed a remembered past among later generations who claimed these older cultural memories as their own. Indeed, one of the most common refrains among research on cultural memory is that a community's shared recollections are never a static repository of past knowledge, but instead are a dynamic and ever-changing understanding of the past influenced by the time and place in which a particular memory is recalled. The “shifting form” of a place's physical appearance over time, in this sense, becomes a crucial point of focus for the historian as the changes made to a location's structures or spaces may offer “significant clues about the shifting memories of its inhabitants.”⁷ The history of David's Jerusalem offered here thus concentrates not only on a particular place connected to the life of a prominent biblical figure, but also attends to the multiple ways in which this moment in Jerusalem's past was remembered over time by those who later came to occupy the site. The argument that runs throughout this volume is that a history of “David's Jerusalem” is something more than the history of that ancient Jerusalem said to have been acquired by a certain highland warrior in the early 10th century BCE, but is also the history of how the figure of David continued to possess this Jerusalem in the memories of its later inhabitants.

The attempt to retrace the history of David's Jerusalem in this manner will be met at the outset by significant protests directed at the historian's interpretive method and epistemological claims. In response to these important objections, the purpose of chapter one is to reflect on certain theoretical problems occasioned in the pursuit of an authentic historical representation of what once transpired at an ancient location. In part, my discussion in this chapter considers the difficulties inherent to representing a past world through literary means carried out in the present, and how the complications introduced into historical research through language and subjectivity affect not only the writing of history today, but also the interpretation of those texts composed in antiquity. This deliberation on historical method then turns to a consideration of those ancient stories preserved within the Hebrew Bible and that form of knowledge expressed within these accounts

about Israel and Judah's past. An examination of this question leads my investigation toward a reflection on the concept of cultural memory and its relationship to history and the implications of situating the stories of the Hebrew Bible within the epistemological domain of the former. To conclude this methodological discussion, I then outline my own approach to a history of place. Motivated by a dialectical approach toward the referential dimensions of ancient material and textual traces, my interpretive framework endeavors to provide a post-positivist hermeneutic that is sensitive to the semblances and dissimilarities brought to light by situating a constellation of archaeological and textual referents together on a single interpretive arc.

In chapters two and three of this study, the interpretive link between memory and materiality is brought to bear on the ancient literary images of David's Jerusalem found in the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. The changing character of a place over time, its growth or decay, and those new structures erected and dismantled are all grouped among those influences that potentially affect the formation of a community's cultural memories, and, as a direct corollary, the formation of those stories composed by a literary culture about its community's past. Reading the memories associated with David's Jerusalem historically, I argue, thus requires an approach that retraces the shifting, transforming physical character of Jerusalem over time in an effort to observe what elements of these later Jerusalems may have shaped the depiction of David's Jerusalem found in the biblical traditions. Events such as the rise and fall of Jerusalem during the Iron Age, its transformation from a humble highland site into one of the largest settlements in the southern Levant by the late 8th century BCE, and its consequent destruction in 586 BCE at the hands of the Babylonians, for example, are understood throughout these chapters as possible influences on the way in which *David's* Jerusalem was remembered by later communities who lived in that place said to have been conquered by a highland leader centuries before.

In the fourth and fifth chapters of this study, my investigation turns to that early 10th century BCE Jerusalem connected in the Hebrew Bible to the figure of David. Prompted by A. Alt's bold questioning of how and why Jerusalem, and not other locations in the southern Levant, became a significant sphere of political and cultural activity in the Iron Age,⁸ my analysis in these chapters begins by attending to the mundane features of this late Iron I/ Iron IIA site, from its geomorphology and natural environment to the agrarian activities that defined its everyday life. After detailing the lives of those farmers and pastoralists who found refuge in Jerusalem's confines at the turn of the 1st millennium BCE, my investigation transitions into a reflection on Jerusalem's stronghold status within the region and the ideological resources this highland site may have offered to a local Iron Age dynasty that ruled from it. In response to the ongoing historical disputes regarding Jerusalem's early Iron Age leaders and the site's possible participation in wider regional developments during this era, my approach to such debates is to bracket these larger historical questions and, following H. Lefebvre's

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reflection on space and experience,⁹ focus instead on the place of Jerusalem itself during this time: the landscape of the site, its defensive enclosures, and the authority that may have been projected through its structures and topography.

Lastly, a comment should be made on the form of this work since it is a significant component of the history it attempts to offer. Rather than working chronologically from a historical reconstruction of early 10th century BCE Jerusalem forward in time to those later centuries in which the biblical stories about this place were composed, my discussion commences instead with an examination of texts written by a late Iron Age literary culture (late 8th to early 6th centuries BCE), transitions into a study of a work composed in the late Persian/early Hellenistic period (late 4th to 3rd centuries BCE), and only then turns to that Jerusalem of the first decades of the first millennium BCE (early 10th century BCE). My purpose in ordering the chapters of this study according to this sequence arises, in part, from a pragmatic attempt to gain a sense of those biblical images of David's Jerusalem that cohere better with the Jerusalems in which these accounts were likely composed before addressing the history of the early 10th century BCE site. A further, important reason behind the structuring of my study in this manner, however, resides in the attempt to give priority to how David's Jerusalem was remembered in the ancient world before turning to my own, modern historical reconstruction of that early Iron Age settlement connected to David. In structuring the chapters of this work in this manner, my intent is thus to call attention to the breaks and ruptures between a remembered past and a historical one,¹⁰ and thus to invite the reader to reflect on the "radically different relations to the past" that will separate the ancient portrayals of David's Jerusalem in the Hebrew Bible from my own.¹¹

NOTES

1. Edward Casey, *Spirit and Soul* (2004): 303.
2. Philip Ethington, "Placing the Past: 'Groundwork' for a Spatial Theory of History" (2007): 465–93. The genealogy of this approach can be traced in many ways to Fernand Braudel's groundbreaking *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1972–1973 [1949]).
3. Aristotle, *Physics* IV.1 (208b 35–209a 2).
4. For example, Walter Benjamin, "A Berlin Chronicle" (1978): 3–60; Marcel Proust, "Combray" in *In Search of Lost Time, Vol I: Swan's Way* (2003); W.G. Sebald, *The Rings of Saturn* (1998); idem., *Austerlitz* (2001). In a more theoretical vein, see Maurice Halbwachs, *La Mémoire Collective* (1968): 130–167; Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (1994): 3–37; and Edward Casey, *Remembering* (1987): 181–215.
5. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*" (1989): 7–25; Gavriel Rosenfeld, *Munich and Memory* (2000); Yannis Hamilakis and Jo Labanyi, "Introduction: Time, Materiality, and the Work of Memory" (2008): 1–17; Jay Winter, "Sites of Memory" (2010).
6. Casey, *Remembering*, 213.

7. Rosenfeld, 5.
8. Albrecht Alt, "Jerusalems Aufstieg" (1925).
9. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (1991).
10. So again Nora's programmatic essay, "Between Memory and History," 7-11.
11. Yosef Yerushalmi, *Zakhor* (1996): 94.

1 Between Memory and Modernity

Retracing the Traces of an Ancient Past

Israel is told only that it must be a kingdom of priests and a holy people; nowhere is it suggested that it become a nation of historians.¹

Historical investigations into the southern Levant's ancient past continue to be galvanized by the recovery of meaningful new evidence from the region. The steady publication of excavation reports and epigraphic finds in the past half-century have brought forth a wealth of data for historians to mine, leading to the development of important studies that have challenged dominant assumptions about the peoples and processes once active in the eastern Mediterranean world during antiquity. The willingness to contest previous historical conclusions on the basis of this new evidence and explore alternative historical explanations has seldom been matched, however, by efforts to reflect on the philosophical commitments and theoretical paradigms that have long guided the way in which the history of the southern Levant has been written.² Thus, from Heinrich Ewald's monumental historical undertaking in the mid-19th century to the work of Martin Noth and John Bright a century later, from the influential historical overview by J.M. Miller and John Hayes to the recent, erudite analysis of Mario Liverani,³ historical approaches toward the ancient history of the southern Levant have been marked by a stark linearity in their form and traditional, 19th-century historical interests in their content: the origins of an ethnic community, the rise of the nation-state, the evolutionary trajectory of religious thought and practice, and the influence of "world-historical" figures.⁴ Among these works, one methodological concern has come to dominate the discussion: the value of the Hebrew Bible as a source for the ancient history of those peoples and cultures referred to within it.

My turn to the history of place in this study is indebted to the seminal works of those scholars above, but departs from their concerns at a number of important junctures. In order to detail the particular historical approach that will guide this investigation, my intent in this chapter is thus to make explicit matters of epistemology and technique so often left implicit within histories devoted to the southern Levant's ancient past.⁵ This

chapter's reflection endeavors, accordingly, to engage those vibrant debates between theorists and working historians regarding the practice, and even possibility, of doing history, and to illustrate how these deliberations on historical method have contributed to my own approach toward the history of David's Jerusalem.

The argument of this chapter is twofold. First, I contend that a study devoted to the history of David's Jerusalem encounters a number of methodological predicaments particular to the historian's craft. At the heart of these challenges are protests directed at the relationship between the historian's account of what once was and that past reality this account seeks to express. To paraphrase Ricoeur, the central question posed to the historian is how, if at all, one is able to depict a past authentically when this reconstruction is necessarily mediated through the historian's narrative discourse and framed through the historian's own interpretive interests and inclinations.⁶ In addition to the referential complications attendant with these concerns, a further predicament encountered in the pursuit of an authentic historical rendering of the past, I maintain, is the historian's dependence on fragmented, frail, and often ambiguous traces connected to antiquity. Consequently, how the historian adjudicates the historical value of those ancient sources available and integrates them within a particular historical reconstruction become critical issues for the investigation of David's Jerusalem in what follows.

The second movement of this chapter is devoted to potential responses to these challenges, with my remarks being catered toward the possibilities opened up through the turn to place as a subject of historical inquiry. At the center of this response is an appeal to the intimate relationship that exists between the textual and material evidence that attest to a location's past. Ancient places, I argue, are of special significance to the historian of antiquity because meaningful sites from the ancient world often possess two intersecting lines of evidence that help to illuminate what once transpired within them: first, locations of import have textual references preserved in the works of ancient literary cultures; second, ancient places often retain impressive amounts of material culture within their buried remains. From a reconstructive perspective, then, places provide the historian of antiquity with an abundance of comparative evidence, material and textual, in a manner quite rare for other historical subjects of interest from the ancient world.

The manner in which places lend themselves to historical reflection is further connected in this discussion to the recent work among archaeologists, historians, and theorists on the strong bond that exists between the experience of place and the memories evoked by them among a populace.⁷ An implication of this relationship between place and memory in the ancient world, I argue, is that a prominent influence involved in the shaping of ancient literary works dependent on cultural memory were those places in which these stories were set and within which they were composed. Put differently, the intimate connection between place and memory suggests that certain conceptions of the past written into the ancient texts of the Hebrew

Bible were often shaped in response to the landscape, passageways, and structures of those meaningful places in ancient Israel and Judah that individuals frequently encountered.

In spite of the important affiliation between memory and place underscored here, my appeal to this relationship will be met by the strong protests levied against memory's historical significance by the contesting claims of modern, critical historicism, a conflict occasioned by the determination of two very different modes of retrospection to lay claim to knowledge about the past. Following the approach of Ricoeur and others, my intent is to place the competing claims of memory and history in tension, with the tools of critical historicism being used to critique, contest, and reprise—but not abolish—the attestations offered by a community's shared recollections.

1.1 CHALLENGES TO THE HISTORIAN'S CRAFT: HISTORY AND ITS DISCONTENTS

“Unlike novels,” Ricoeur writes in the third volume to his *Time and Narrative*, “historians’ constructions do aim at being *reconstructions* of the past.”⁸ Within the historian's research and writing, Ricoeur argues, there thus resides an obligation that is absent from the novelist's creative endeavor: namely, the responsibility to “represent the past *in truth*.”⁹ Ricoeur writes further:

In opening a history book, the reader expects, under the guidance of a mass of archives, to reenter a world of events that actually occurred. What is more, in crossing the threshold of what is written, he stands on guard, casts a critical eye, and demands if not a true discourse comparable to that of a physics text, at least a plausible one, one that is admissible, probable, and in any case honest and truthful. Having been taught to look out for falsehoods, he does not want to have to deal with a liar.¹⁰

Ricoeur's pointed allusion to the novelist and his accent on the historian's pursuit of the truth regarding what once occurred in the past helps to concentrate certain predicaments encountered by the historian within two primary areas of deliberation. First, the crisis of representing a past world of human experience authentically through the same literary tropes employed by the novelist, or what I will term the problem of “text and reference.” Second is the crisis of doing justice to this past by representing it equitably from the standpoint of the present, or the problem of “text and context.” To put the matter more succinctly, the historian's aim of representing a past truthfully remains haunted by the complications of language and subjectivity.

Questions surrounding how language connects to an extralinguistic reality are ancient ones, appearing already in a celebrated discussion from Plato's *Cratylus*¹¹ and continuing forcefully in the skeptical tradition of

the Sophists.¹² The debate over how words refer to reality, of the relationship between a *res* and a *signum*, would come under even more rigorous scrutiny, however, centuries later in the work of Augustine.¹³ The crux of these ancient discussions centered on the question of misunderstanding, and whether there was an intrinsic, natural bond between a word and its referent that, if clarified, could assure the correct interpretation of what a word designated by independent speakers. Though Socrates wavered,¹⁴ Augustine, particularly in his work on biblical interpretation, appealed to the mediating role of the divine to dispel the ambiguity of human discourse introduced into history, he believed, at Eden.¹⁵

An Augustinian solution to the problem of text and reference by way of divine inspiration remained dominant in Western thought until Friedrich Nietzsche, writing during the same period when historians were developing a more rigorous discipline of history in the academy, reopened the ancient debate on language in the late 19th century. In an influential, unfinished essay (published posthumously), the former professor of classical philology wrote this:

And, moreover, what about these conventions of language? Are they really the products of knowledge, of the sense of truth? Do the designations and the things coincide? Is language the adequate expression of all realities? Only through forgetfulness can man ever achieve the illusion of possessing a “truth” in the form just designated.¹⁶

Dictated to a friend from his lecture notes at the University of Basel, Nietzsche’s reflection on the relationship between language and reality¹⁷ came to a searing conclusion: “we possess nothing but metaphors for things—things which correspond in no way to original entities.”¹⁸ Dependent upon a “movable host” of rhetorical tropes determined by the conventions of a particular linguistic community—and not by a language’s intrinsic bond to reality—language, written or spoken, could only produce “illusions that we have forgotten are illusions.”¹⁹ In the absence of the divine that once assured Augustine’s quest for the truth behind language, any knowledge linked to referential discourse, historical or otherwise, Nietzsche now placed under profound suspicion.

The skepticism evinced by Nietzsche regarding language’s capacity to describe extralinguistic reality truthfully was directed at all epistemological undertakings, but had particular ramifications for how the historian attained and communicated past knowledge. For if, as Nietzsche contended, language could never correspond precisely to a world of objective reality, then the knowledge generated through the historian’s writings, because it was language bound, could only be viewed as inadequate, provisional, and in some sense deceptive. In February of 1874, less than a year after dictating his meditation on the problem of language, Nietzsche printed a biting essay against the German “historical culture” of his day, entitled “On the

Uses and Disadvantage of a History for Life" (*Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben*). At the center of Nietzsche's attack was a "historical sickness" he diagnosed among those who believed an unbiased, scientific approach to the past could unlock its meaning and significance—an approach Nietzsche denounced as taken up by a "race of eunuchs" whose "melancholy indifference" to the great deeds and tragic occasions of the past, though put forward in an attempt to enrich a culture, actually destroyed it.²⁰ Writing during the height of Leopold von Ranke's fame and while the eminent historian still taught his celebrated seminars in Berlin, Nietzsche railed against the scholarly discipline of history espoused by von Ranke's circle²¹ and the claim that the "actual" (*eigentlich*) of the past could be realized by the historian's labor.²² Against those "walking encyclopedias" who, in the archival research particularly valued by von Ranke,²³ believed the past was made transparent through the isolation of facts and diligent, disciplined disinterest, Nietzsche emphasized the interpretive character of all historical knowledge and the importance the present played in its understanding. Later, in a letter to his sister, Nietzsche would write, "Against that positivism which stops before phenomena, saying 'there are only facts,' I should say: no, it is precisely facts that do not exist, only interpretation."²⁴

Nietzsche's confrontation with the ancient problem of text and reference thus came to center on the related problem of text and context, or the recognition that every past reconstructed by the historian was done so through the interpretive framework brought by the historian to her or his research. Troubling for Nietzsche, then, was precisely the dispassionate, objective interpretive stance toward historical research advocated by the professional historians of his day that remained willfully blind to the cultural presuppositions they necessarily held: "it is thus a matter of indifference what they do," Nietzsche remarks coldly, "so long as history itself is kept nice and 'objective,' bearing in mind that those who want to keep it so are forever incapable of making history themselves."²⁵ For Nietzsche, direct access to the past through the presentation of objective evidence and mastery of historical knowledge through its analogy to the natural sciences were symptoms of a modern sickness, and one that prevented true engagement with the past. Wholly in opposition to this view of historical knowledge, Nietzsche contended that the historian had to self-consciously invest one's entire self in the past one studied in order to unlock its meaning: "If you are to venture to interpret the past," Nietzsche concluded, "you can do so only out of the fullest exertion of the vigour of the present."²⁶

Nietzsche's observations on history were roundly ignored by the historians of his day, receiving only one poor review and selling fewer copies than even the negligible amount sold of any of his previous publications.²⁷ The generation that followed Nietzsche, however, forcefully reclaimed his work and directed it once again at the historian's labors. Particularly significant was a seminal essay published by Roland Barthes in 1967 on the "discourse of history."²⁸ Barthes's essay once more took up the epistemological

question of the historian's capacity to refer to a past reality, but with a renewed focus on the difficulties of accessing "the real" of the past through *writing*. Barthes comments:

in "objective history," the "real" is never anything but an unformulated signified, sheltered behind the apparent omnipotence of the referent. This situation defines what we might call the *reality effect*.²⁹

Barthes's remarks on historical objectivity and the "effect" it produced was indebted, as Barthes himself noted, to Nietzsche's earlier attacks on the historicism of his day. Yet Barthes's critique of the historian's craft distinguished itself from Nietzsche's earlier works through the manner in which his essay took the strands of a Nietzschean skepticism and directed it specifically at the "psychotic" propensity of historians who assumed that their literary, historical discourse could be equated with the past reality it sought to represent. Most disturbing for Barthes, therefore, were those historical works that crudely claimed *to be* the past they signified without considerations of how written discourse could perform such an ontological feat.

In raising these concerns, Barthes returned once more to Nietzsche's accent on the illusory ends of language, but did so in a way that connected these reflections to the "fake" ambition of the historian's writings to portray the reality of a past authentically.³⁰ Wary of words that claimed to be "merely a pure and simply 'copy' of *another* existence,"³¹ Barthes considered the historian's written discourse to be a "shamefaced" signifier whose reality was only an effect, and not the thing itself.³² Nietzsche's "greybeards" in the historical academy were now not only epistemologically confused in their old age, but also explicitly deceitful.

The importance of Barthes's analysis is that it offered a further, denunciatory expression of the problems of historical interpretation and reconstruction highlighted earlier by Nietzsche, but through the prism of 20th century considerations of language, writing, and referentiality. The *reality effect* that Barthes isolated within the historian's discourse was, in his opinion, simply symptomatic of a modernity consumed with the trappings of things not authentic: museums of formaldehyde, exhibitions of ancient objects plundered from elsewhere, massive photographic archives, exploitative newspapers, and crude realistic novels.³³ Written in the aftermath of two world wars and inexpressible atrocities, the self-confidence of the historian's discourse and the grand narratives developed about (European) culture and peoples was now found to be hollow and naïve.

However, Barthes's radical questioning of the "real" behind the historian's discourse also picked up on a second, troubling theme from Nietzsche's writings on history that had remained somewhat undeveloped: namely, the abuse of power. For with the disappearance of the historian's "I" in so-called objective historiography, Barthes argued, the historian simply introduced another fabrication created in an effort to gain unquestioned authority over

the past.³⁴ In allowing history to “tell itself,” in other words, the historian concealed the true ideological motivations that informed the creation of a particular historical portrayal. Such an act of concealment once again gave birth to an illusion—and one with potentially manipulative ends.³⁵

The epistemological protests voiced by Nietzsche, Barthes, and those influenced by them all shared the central conviction that historical knowledge was contingent on the interpretive framework used by the historian, and that as a consequence, the past represented within the historian’s work was never a direct window into or copy of that past reality the historian sought to disclose. The question of what, more precisely, the historian’s reconstruction then constituted became a profound and vexing issue for those aware of the increasingly vocal theorists uneasy with the historian’s epistemological claims. For if historical knowledge was indeed constructed by the historian and not merely recovered and laid bare through the gathering of evidence, then the “actual” at the heart of von Ranke’s pursuits suddenly became susceptible to charges of distortion, error, and willful manipulation.

Nietzsche’s attacks on language and truth, raised to a further indictment of the historian’s craft by Barthes and his contemporaries,³⁶ thus sowed the seeds of discontent concerning the philosophical naiveté that so often accompanied the historian’s endeavor to represent the past truthfully: namely, the belief that the historian’s representation could, through the uncovering of evidence and disciplined disinterest, reflect the reality behind a given past occurrence. Yet once the transparency of language and the historian’s claims of objectivity had become suspect, the nature of “‘realistic’ representation,” White observed, became “*the* problem for modern historiography.”³⁷

The misgivings among historians in the late 20th century aware of these epistemological challenges were substantial.³⁸ Such scholars contested that the most radical critics of historiography had collapsed the past realities historians sought to portray with the texts utilized to describe those realities, thus preventing, at the outset, any credible historical discourse about the past to occur by trapping history within a “prisonhouse of language.”³⁹ Taken to its extreme, such a perspective of historical knowledge “den[ie]d the primary premise of the historical profession: the separation of history as the past from history as writing about that past.”⁴⁰ In time, historians felt “besieged,” confronted by the attacks of irrationalists, “lazy” practitioners of historical method, and radical skeptics.⁴¹ Yet despite the best counterattacks of historians tied to the foundationalist assumptions of objectivity and linguistic transparency that had guided the discipline since its early development in the university, the question of how a past reality could be represented authentically through historical research and writing remained a troubling question.

Thoughtful, recent responses by working historians to the protests of history’s discontents have been numerous, from the writings of Carlo Ginzburg

to Roger Chartier.⁴² Reactions from historians of the southern Levant have, however, been muted.⁴³ Nevertheless, implicit in the work of contemporary historians writing on the ancient world of the southern Levant is a host of presuppositions about the historian's craft indebted to discussions that arose during the period of Nietzsche and von Ranke. Thus, before responding to those misgivings raised by history's discontents, it is important to illustrate that these concerns touch on the work of historians of ancient Israel and Judah.

1.2 "ON CHOOSING MODELS"

In an insightful review essay devoted to the publication of Hayes and Miller's important edited volume, *Israelite and Judean History*,⁴⁴ J. Sasson described his ambivalence toward the editors' decision to refrain from requiring their diverse group of leading historians to make explicit each contributor's "philosophy of historical synthesis."⁴⁵ Such an absence, Sasson commented, produced a work that reflected "widely diverging, sometimes mutually excluding, analogies and models" that inevitably forced readers "to suspend their confidence in each scholarly reconstruction as they move from one chapter to the next."⁴⁶ The result was a learned but disjointed discussion on Israel's ancient past among historians who often talked past one another.⁴⁷

In an effort to explore the divisions apparent between the approaches of these historians, Sasson used the occasion of his review to offer a closer inspection of the presuppositions undergirding each contributor's understanding of the "nature, purpose, method, and limitation of historical inquiry."⁴⁸ Among the essays included in the volume, Sasson discerned two circles or "schools" of influence that could be traced to discussions of historical method that arose in the 19th century.⁴⁹ The first was a "Prussian" or "Rationalist" model of historiography developed during the 19th century and known through its foremost practitioner, von Ranke. The focus of these "rationalists," Sasson contended, was the historical development of the nation-state in Europe, with the written documentation left behind by diplomats, aristocrats, and rulers from particular regions being the most important evidence available for the historian to examine. Such an approach to historical reconstruction reached maturity among biblicists, Sasson wrote further, in the work of Julius Wellhausen's close associate, Bernhard Stade,⁵⁰ who accented political history in order to distance the work of history from "theological" treatments of Israel's past that often reiterated the Bible's own story for pietistic purposes. In venturing to make a break between theology and politics, the aim of this political historiography was to produce an objective, clear-eyed account of Israel's past based on the careful sifting of the biblical record independent of a biblical scholar's theological commitments. This tradition of political history, Sasson contended, was refined by

Albrecht Alt and reached its apogee in the amphictyony theory of his student, Martin Noth.⁵¹

Second, Sasson identified a historical methodology that centered on *Kulturgeschichte*, or an approach that focused on questions of religious history, literature, law and social customs (as opposed to more straightforward political concerns).⁵² Rooted in Jacob Burckhardt's seminal research into Renaissance culture⁵³ and manifested most prominently in the work of Gunkel's analysis of folklore, Sasson asserted that a historical methodology indebted to *Kulturgeschichte* came to exert a profound influence on American scholars intent on viewing Israel's past through the eyes of its citizenry.⁵⁴ This "democratic" approach, buttressed by the work of practiced archaeologists and a uniquely American post-war emphasis on the sacred destiny of a chosen people, gained increasing visibility and sophistication in the U.S. Thus, whether through Albright's reconstructions of frontier settlers conquering a land's native inhabitants⁵⁵ or Gottwald's later portrayal of a peasant people taking up arms against injustice,⁵⁶ prominent discussions of ancient Israel's past, Sasson asserted, reflected particularly American themes of social and religious history, much as Noth's had reflected German political history.

In stepping back from Sasson's review, what is particularly significant about this essay is the relationship it convincingly demonstrates between prominent approaches to ancient Israelite history and historical methodologies developed much earlier and outside the discipline. Thus, by focusing on the "models" chosen by these historians to develop their histories, Sasson was able to illustrate the dependence of these broader interpretive frameworks on the methods advanced by such figures as von Ranke and Burckhardt in the 19th century, even if the influence of these older debates often went unacknowledged among those writing on the history of the southern Levant. Also significant about Sasson's essay was its conclusion that, following upon the works of Alt, Noth, Albright, and Bright, "approaches taken by IJH's [*Israelite and Judean History*] contributors to the pre-monarchic period remain the same as those employed by earlier scholarship."⁵⁷ Consequently, despite the very different conclusions drawn by these historians surrounding the ancient history of the southern Levant, the questions these scholars asked and the methods they used for reconstructing the past, Sasson maintained, were the same as those who had preceded them in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In certain respects, the epistemological assumptions supporting the discipline of ancient Israelite and Judahite history has changed little since the publication of Sasson's review. T. Thompson's demand that historians "strive to be objective scholars,"⁵⁸ N. Lemche's belief that historical research abide by "scientific stringency,"⁵⁹ and L. Grabbe's bald statement that "our goal as historians is to find out 'what really happened'"⁶⁰ remain thoroughly enmeshed in the epistemological tradition of von Ranke and the historicism of which he was part. Even rancorous debates surrounding the historicity of

the biblical text⁶¹ and its usefulness for historical reconstruction often take place between those who share the same allegiance to “scientific history”⁶² and whose historical reconstructions are devoted to the rise of the “state,” “great individuals,” and “international relations” at the heart of the Prussian school’s interests.⁶³ In “choosing models” to represent the southern Levant’s ancient past, in other words, historians of the region remain deeply wed to those frameworks developed during the birth of a historical *Wissenschaft* in 19th-century Germany and the disputes that arose with its creation. For this reason, as Sasson’s review keenly illustrates, historians of the southern Levant can only move forward intelligibly within current historical debates if they strive to examine the theoretical suppositions of history writing that necessarily motivate and determine their work.

1.3 REPRESENTATION, RHETORIC, PROOF

In returning to the problems of history and historical reconstruction outlined above, my response to these challenges is formed principally through the work of Ricoeur and Ginzburg on historical representation, rhetoric, and proof. The reason behind the appeal to these two thinkers stems from their refusal to relinquish the historian’s responsibility toward representing the “actual” of the past, but in a manner that is nevertheless fully cognizant of the deep misgivings raised against the fulfillment of this obligation by history’s discontents. In this sense, their work is of particular value because it bridges the gulf between a pragmatic insistence on the reality of what once was and the profound epistemological suspicions regarding the historian’s literary portrayal of it. To begin, I turn to Ricoeur’s understanding of historical representation as “standing-for”⁶⁴ a particular past phenomenon before connecting this perspective to Ginzburg’s discussion of the relationship between the historian’s discourse and proof.

My appeal to Ricoeur is rooted in the philosopher’s clear-eyed recognition of the problems language and writing introduce into the historian’s attempt to represent a past authentically. In response to these concerns, Ricoeur offers an uncompromising distinction, ontological in nature, between an understanding of representation as an image or copy of some absent thing (critical to Barthes’s critique of historical representation above)⁶⁵ and representation as the notion of “standing for,” or “taking the place of,” some past entity.⁶⁶ The reason behind Ricoeur’s distinction is straightforward, but crucial: mindful of the inability of the historian’s written work to reconstitute the reality of any past,⁶⁷ Ricoeur’s definition of representation as “standing-for” explicitly avoids according a literary portrayal the power to reduplicate or revive that past reality at the center of the historian’s research. Rather, by redefining representation as “standing for something,” Ricoeur accents the imaginative and creative character of the historian’s (re)construction. The historian, Ricoeur argues throughout

his various texts devoted to the problem of historical representation, reconfigures a past world by writing about it, and in this sense crafts a figure—a depiction, rendering, portrait, portrayal—of an absent thing that “stands in place of” its intended referent. The historian’s literary representation is, in this sense, “what I *would have* seen, what I *would have* witnessed if I had been there.”⁶⁸ Faced with the inability to ever hold up a particular historical account and compare it against that past reality it seeks to represent, a historical reconstruction, Ricoeur cautions, must remain tempered by the use of the conditional.

The strength of Ricoeur’s concept of historical representation is located in its acute awareness of referential difficulties inherent to the historian’s representation,⁶⁹ and its simultaneous rejoinder to those efforts that attempt to bypass these challenges by linking a historical epistemology with an epistemology of the natural sciences. In order to navigate a middle way between these two conceptions, Ricoeur accents the affinity that exists between his notion of representation as “standing for” the reality of some past and the redescription of reality accomplished through the use of metaphorical statements.⁷⁰ Common to both the historian’s representation and metaphorical utterances, Ricoeur maintains, is the “as” that calls into being an analogy between a subject and its modifier: in a historian’s work “things must have happened *as* they are told in a narrative such as this one.”⁷¹ Significant about Ricoeur’s appeal to metaphor in this instance is its attempt to avoid the ontological claim, so troubling to both Nietzsche and Barthes, that the historian is able to reproduce or resurrect a past reality through one’s historical research and writing. Instead, Ricoeur maintains that the historian’s portrayal can aspire to the subtler end of offering a literary semblance to a past referent without insisting that the reality behind this referent has been copied or made to reappear. The absence of the past *and* its present traces, its disappearance *and* continued existence through the vestiges left behind, is thus perceptively mirrored in metaphor’s semantic capacity to retain the tension between an “is and is not.”⁷² “Artisans who work with words,” Ricoeur remarks, “produce not things but quasi-things; they invent the as-if.”⁷³

The danger of this turn to metaphor is not lost on Ricoeur.⁷⁴ The historian’s ambition of representing the past “in truth,” is, with the appeal to metaphorical utterances, confronted once again by Nietzsche’s sharp protests recorded above.⁷⁵ Ricoeur responds:

Once the representative modes supposed to give a literary form to the historical intentionality are called into question, the only responsible way to make the attestation of reality prevail over the suspicion of non-pertinence is to put the scriptural phase back into its place . . . In other words, it is together that scripturality, comprehensive explanation, and documentary proof are capable of accrediting the truth claim of historical discourse.⁷⁶

In order to combat a Nietzschean “suspicion of nonpertinence” toward the relationship between the historian’s portrayal of the past and that past reality the historian seeks to represent, Ricoeur argues that the only means available to support the authenticity of this historical work is that of the explanatory statements and documentary proof offered within the historian’s writings.⁷⁷

It is with this turn to explanation and proof that Ginzburg’s reflections on the historian’s craft become meaningful, particularly concerning what Ginzburg describes as the necessary relationship between rhetoric and proof for the persuasiveness of a historian’s reconstruction. In an incisive, scrupulous essay devoted to Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*,⁷⁸ Ginzburg highlights the ancient philosopher’s arguments against an understanding of rhetoric common to the Sophists, Plato, and, later, influential on Nietzsche.⁷⁹ This particular perception of rhetoric, Aristotle claimed, was wed to a misunderstanding that linked rhetorical acts solely to techniques dependent on the “arousing of prejudice, pity, anger”⁸⁰—or, in short, a form of discourse that preyed on the audience’s emotions in order to make falsehoods appear as truths. Against this notion, Aristotle endeavored to ground the persuasiveness of rhetoric instead in the rational proofs of “examples and enthymemes,” the latter of which consisted in the deductions an audience could render through a rhetorician’s appeal to “signs” (*sēmeion*) and “necessary signs” (*tekmērion*)—or, stated differently, through the speaker’s appeal to “evidence.”⁸¹

Ginzburg’s attempt to highlight and reclaim an Aristotelian interpretation of rhetoric is apologetic in tone and thrust. Through Aristotle, Ginzburg attempts to uncouple the persuasiveness of rhetoric from the cunning, treachery, and play on emotions that made rhetorical acts so suspicious to both Socrates and Nietzsche. Instead, by reading with Aristotle—the practiced antiquarian tasked with researching and revising Hippias’s dubious century-old list of victorious Olympians—Ginzburg contends that the persuasiveness of rhetoric should be grounded instead through the proof produced by the author/orator.⁸²

Animated by this Aristotelian model of rhetoric and persuasion, the truth of the historian’s discourse comes to be rooted in what Ginzburg terms an “evidential paradigm,” or a realm of clues pursued and solicited by the historian in order to substantiate one’s historical account.⁸³ Over against a truth brought into being through coercion and deception, then, Ginzburg links the authenticity of a historian’s portrayal to the persuasiveness of the evidence brought to light. This accent on historical deductions construed through the evidence put forward by the historian cannot, Ginzburg admits, overcome that profound Nietzschean suspicion surrounding the interpretive processes undergirding the production of such evidence. As with Ricoeur, Ginzburg readily concedes the vulnerability attendant within the historian’s interpretive task: directly opposed to the epistemology of the natural sciences and the certainty shared by Galileo and the philologist,⁸⁴ the knowledge

produced through historical research, Ginzburg writes, is “uncertain, discontinuous, lacunar, based only on fragments and ruins.”⁸⁵

In an article devoted to the 19th century art critic Giovanni Morelli, Ginzburg nevertheless retraces, bit by bit, this epistemology of human life and culture rooted in the subtle, nearly imperceptible traces commonly pursued by physicians, detectives, and all those professions charged with deciphering the perplexities of human conduct: the careful study of a figure’s earlobes in a portrait composed by a famous artist, the fingerprints left behind by a thief, and the sound of a patient’s wheezing.⁸⁶ The knowledge generated through such traces, Ginzburg contends, could only be “indirect, presumptive, conjectural,”⁸⁷ a knowledge that, through and through, was dependent on interpretive procedures open to distortion and error. There simply was no certainty, no *punctum Archimedis*, available for the humanist peering into the mysteries of a past that could never be repeated. But through the reading of such clues, Morelli was able to discredit the claim of a lost Titian, the doctor diagnosed head trauma through blood specks in a patient’s eyes, and Lorenzo di Valla, the father of historical criticism, was able to show that the Donation of Constantine was a five-hundred-year-old counterfeit produced by the most powerful institution in the world.⁸⁸ Dependent only on the fragments and ruins of past lives, the historian’s work could never attain the certainty of the physicist’s experiment. But the historian’s arguments could be persuasive.

The contribution of Ginzburg’s analysis for this study resides in the recognition of the vulnerability inherent to the epistemology of the historian’s research when compared to the results of scientific analysis, and his response to this precariousness through an Aristotelian, pragmatic accent on examples and evidence. For although the historian necessarily “draws on the intertwining between reality and fiction, between truth and possibility,”⁸⁹ the historian’s writings come to be differentiated from the novelist’s, Ginzburg contends, through the recourse to evidence cited throughout the historian’s narrative: the contours of a potsherd, the orientation of a dilapidated wall, the memory of a witness. The knowledge generated through the interpretation of such traces remains partial and indirect, subject to the vantage point from which the historian examines these vestiges and contingent on what he or she perceives. But the historian’s adherence to these traces and the argument posed through them differentiates the truth claims of historiography, in the end, from the novelist’s literary work. Unlike the historian, a novelist is not beholden to the past, nor is the novelist constrained in their storytelling by the evidence that attests to the reality of what once was.

The importance of Ricoeur and Ginzburg’s reflections for the present study is the manner in which their writings confront the accusations levied at the authenticity of those claims made about the past within a historian’s writings. For what is at stake in these methodological deliberations by both thinkers is the development of a historical epistemology that refuses the lure of a false and misleading belief in the possibility of possessing an

Archimedean perspective into the past, and the certainty that comes with it. In place of this foundationalist epistemology, both thinkers locate historical knowledge instead within the domain of the conditional and conjectural where the truth claims of a historical reconstruction can only be maintained through the persuasiveness of the argument offered. Rejected within these perspectives, then, is that positivistic impulse found commonly among historians of the southern Levant in which a belief resides that only the “objectively given” and “verifiable” are worthy of historical consideration.⁹⁰ Between a fixed, unmediated, and value-free knowledge of the past sought by foundationalist perspectives of the historian’s craft, then, and the interpretive, conjectural paradigm of Ginzburg and Ricoeur, “it is necessary to choose.”⁹¹

In response to the twofold problem of “text and reference” and “text and context” raised above, this discussion has turned to Ricoeur’s notion of representation as “standing-for” and to Ginzburg’s understanding of the necessary relationship between historical discourse and evidence. This notion of historical representation attempts, then, to avoid according the historian’s literary portrayal the power to replicate the reality of any past. At the same time, this notion of representation is linked to the strong bond that exists between the historian’s narrative depiction and the proof solicited to justify its portrayal, a justification that is then argued for before an “enlightened public” and a “corporation of historians” who must affirm or denounce its particular claims about what once was.⁹² It is these arbiters of historical knowledge that, though they cannot overcome a Nietzschean suspicion of nonpertinence between literary discourse and past reality, can at least help to mitigate it.

Yet with this strong appeal to evidence, a new protest is levied at the historian of the ancient world, and it is one charged directly at the character of those traces that attest to what once transpired in antiquity. For even “the most naïve policeman knows that a witness should not always be taken at his word.”⁹³

1.4 LITERARY REFERENCE AND THE QUESTION OF EVIDENCE

My discussion in what follows turns on the question of the credibility of those referential claims made within literary works from antiquity. In pursuing the relationship between historical representation, rhetoric, and proof, a new question suddenly came to the fore: what testimony from the past is admissible before the historian’s tribunal?

How the historian assesses the historical value of past traces is a question that impinges on any inquiry, and is certainly not limited to the historian of antiquity. “An experience almost as old as mankind,” Bloch writes, “has taught us that more than one manuscript has falsified its date or origin, that all the accounts are not true, and that even the physical evidence can be

faked.”⁹⁴ Yet adjudicating between the spurious and reliable when investigating those texts that bear on the southern Levant’s ancient history is a pursuit mired in a controversy particular to the historiography of the region, in which the richest source of information for this region’s history (the Hebrew Bible) is also the most contested. At issue once again in this debate is the problem of text and reference, but here oriented toward the question of whether the biblical narrative, whose texts were conceived and written by ancient literary cultures absent of the expectations of modern historiography, are capable of referring to the past in a historically meaningful way.⁹⁵

A quick resolution to this question of the historical value of the biblical text cannot be sought solely by an appeal to extrabiblical evidence from the ancient Near East. The reason is twofold. First, a comparative approach dedicated to a process of directly corroborating or dismissing a biblical reference on the basis of extrabiblical evidence is of only limited value, restricted by the fact that so few of the biblical references to an Iron Age past can be expressly confirmed or invalidated by the material and textual evidence available (i.e., that, according to Assyrian annals, Ahab was indeed once king of Israel, or that Jerusalem, according to the material record and Babylonian texts, was destroyed in the early 6th century BCE). The wearing away and destruction of remains from this period over the millennia, when coupled with the relative political insignificance of Israel and Judah in the ancient world, thus contributes to a relative dearth of comparative information available for the historian who seeks to connect the biblical references directly with extrabiblical evidence.

Second, even in those cases where a biblical description is substantiated by extrabiblical sources, such instances do not provide warrant for the historian to then deem the entirety of a written account as being a “reliable” historical source. The reason for this ambivalence is that the skilled storyteller, ancient or modern, is quite capable of alluding to historical reality in order to craft a more compelling, but not necessarily historically authentic, story. Marc Antony and Cleopatra VII Philopator were real individuals and lovers, but this does not mean that Shakespeare’s drama about them provides historical insights into their lives; David, unlike Achilles, is reported to have been the product of human lineage, but the book of Ruth is widely understood to have been written for reasons other than offering a historically accurate portrayal of the lives of these forebears.

Before considering an interpretive framework by which to approach the history of David’s Jerusalem, what first must be addressed accordingly is the historical character of those biblical references that do cite this Iron Age period, and *if* their textual references to an Iron Age past even merit consideration for a reconstruction of this era’s history.⁹⁶ Wary of those Vergils of the ancient world whose verbal artistry may beguile the reader into mistaking the legendary and fanciful for the historical, it is incumbent upon the historian to distinguish between an Aeneas and an Alexander when drawing upon ancient texts for historical reconstructions.

In reflecting on this question, it is important to stress that the concerns surrounding the historical character of those references embedded in the Hebrew Bible stem from the same the problems of language and subjectivity discussed above in terms of the contemporary historian's act of representation. Accordingly, what complicates an acceptance of the claims embedded in these ancient Hebrew texts is their literary character and the fact that all of the stories recounted in these writings are told from a particular point of view from a particular period in time. Yet what heightens the historical complications with these narratives are a number of features that are particular to these biblical texts.

First, the historical value of the Hebrew Bible has been increasingly questioned because of the strong ideological features running throughout the ancient accounts within it. Such stories, because of their pronounced assumptions about the divine status of Israel or the political legitimacy of certain ruling dynasties, are often cited as being distorted, partisan writings that envision a past world its authors depicted as real, but was not. Even more, because these biblical narratives were written primarily by priests, prophets, or scribes affiliated with temple and court, their allusions are slanted with a heavy ideology—or theology—that is concerned primarily with Israel and Judah's relationship to their deity.

A second difficulty with the referential claims of the Hebrew Bible is the absence of clear generic markers in its stories.⁹⁷ Devoid of the remarks of a Thucydides, for example, regarding the critical evaluation of those sources drawn upon for his portrayal of the past, and content with the blending together of such diverse narrative elements as (among others) abrupt notices of regnal periods, complex accounts of the miraculous, and long digressions on the religious department of certain rulers, the Hebrew Bible's depiction of the southern Levant's Iron Age past lacks the much-sought-after discussion of why the biblical scribes composed their narratives as they did, and what sources they drew upon in order to do so. From this perspective, a major stumbling block to a historical appraisal of the biblical record is the absence of an identifiable author or authors behind the extant versions of its narratives.⁹⁸ Troublesome about this absence is that it obscures the historical context in which these accounts were composed and makes even more problematic the strong indications that these biblical texts were shaped and rewritten over the course of many generations, and even centuries.⁹⁹ Absent of an identifiable authorial voice, questions pertaining to what evidence the biblical scribes drew upon to create their narratives of the past and how this evidence was assessed thus remain ambiguous.

Given the uncertainties surrounding the methods by which the biblical scribes composed their stories and why they wrote as they did, a more recent approach to their referential claims has been to circumvent these literary references entirely. Although the biblical narrative may contain small historical fragments within its stories from earlier periods of Israel and Judah's past,¹⁰⁰ the possibility of distilling traces of the historical from what these

scholars consider later, fictional accounts of the past remains beyond the scope of critical analysis.¹⁰¹ What evidence can be gleaned from these texts, however, are those unintended glimpses of the mentality of the culture that gave shape to the final configuration of a given literary tradition.¹⁰² Espousing a methodology that, as noted above, can be connected to Burckhardt's innovative study of the Italian Renaissance,¹⁰³ this approach remains decidedly synchronic in orientation; for the historian, the only historical evidence the biblical narrative retains is that of the era in which a certain text was composed. Thus, if the historian dates the composition of biblical texts to a relatively late period, as these historians do,¹⁰⁴ then such documents may shed light on Hellenistic or Greco-Roman mentalities present in the southern Levants during these eras, but such texts remain inadequate for attaining any historical understanding of the region's history before this time. Consequently, in order to avoid the "monstrous creature" created by historians willing to entertain the referential claims found in these texts,¹⁰⁵ the best archaeologists and historians reconstruct the history of these earlier periods "without using the Bible's own story" as evidence.¹⁰⁶

Absent of the biblical text, the evidence used to reconstruct this region's history before the Hellenistic era must then be sought elsewhere. Accordingly, key to this approach has been the recovery of contemporaneous historical evidence from these earlier periods of the southern Levant's past: namely, the material remains and epigraphs from the region that provide an eyewitness testimony, so to speak, of a particular historical era. By virtue of an archaeological artifact's freedom from the later ideological accretions of scribal authors,¹⁰⁷ such contemporaneous traces, these scholars contend, avoid many of the interpretive difficulties that arise with the biblical text. The result of this methodological approach is an interpretive framework that permits only a more stringent connection between a vestige and the past it signifies, thereby fulfilling a very rigorous standard of "historicity"¹⁰⁸ and avoiding the distorting effects these scholars find within the biblical corpus.¹⁰⁹ "If we wish to communicate what insight we have into the meaning of historical and biblical data," Thompson writes, "then the relationship between the objectively given and our representation of it must be verifiable. Only then can we begin to speak about 'historical fact.'"¹¹⁰

Such an interpretive framework provides a number of methodological insights. First, the emphasis of this circle of historians on the differences that separate the work of the modern historian from the writings of the biblical scribes remains an important corrective for an uncritical acceptance of that past portrayed in the Hebrew Bible as historical evidence. Their accent on the importance of contemporaneous archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the region is therefore to be commended, as is their insistence that this evidence be brought to bear on the historical readings of the biblical narrative. Consonant with this perspective is the important critique levied by these scholars against inconsistent historical approaches frequent within the historiography of this region that all too readily assume the historical

reliability of the biblical account without a critical discussion of how these sources came to be and for what purposes they were created. Moreover, the appeal to a Burckhardtian methodology is attuned to the mediating role every present plays within a literary representation of the past, and is a perspective that will also form a prominent component of this study's reconstruction of David's Jerusalem in what follows—even if my own dating of various biblical texts will dissent from the overarching conclusion of these scholars. Nevertheless, despite these laudable methodological features, the *de facto* rejection of the biblical text as a potential historical source for the past it represents is contestable on a number of theoretical grounds, and it is with these objections that my own interpretive framework for the biblical account begins to take form.

First, the assertion¹¹¹ that a biblical text is an unacceptable historical source because it exhibits a particular ideological *Tendenz* is an inadequate historical criterion,¹¹² deficient chiefly in its failure to perceive the ideological influences running throughout all literary works, ancient and modern. Neo-Assyrian royal annals¹¹³ and Northwest Semitic display inscriptions,¹¹⁴ for example, are as ideologically motivated as any biblical text, but few ancient historians would discount, *ab initio*, the possibility that these writings could refer to the past in a historically meaningful way.¹¹⁵ Enmeshed in a matrix of cultural assumptions and personal motivations, all written discourse is colored by the “system of representations”¹¹⁶ current within the social and historical context in which it is composed, and, as discussed at length above, such discourse cannot be freed of these necessary frameworks and preconceptions.¹¹⁷ Ancient scribes were thus no more capable of providing objective, value-free accounts of the past than historians writing today, and the criteria used for assessing the historical value of their texts should not be ones that are unattainable for us today.¹¹⁸ To pursue how a certain ideological perspective impacted a literary work from antiquity is a fruitful historical exercise;¹¹⁹ to impugn the referential claims of a text because it exhibits an ideology is not, and is a maxim that, if pressed, would dissolve any distinction between the reality of a past and those texts written about it. If such a stance were taken to its logical conclusion, all literary allusions to a past world would be necessarily excluded as possible historical evidence for that past to which these texts refer.¹²⁰

This objection is closely related to a second disagreement concerning those literary techniques used to represent the past within the biblical accounts, and the dissimilarities of these techniques from the character of modern, critical historiography. A frequent charge levied at the historical character of the biblical narrative is its possession of certain literary techniques common to texts from this region and period. Examples include the repetition of familiar type-scenes, the omniscient persona of the biblical narrator, the representation of internal consciousness among its characters, or the reticence of the biblical scribes to foreground historical referents within their stories.¹²¹ This form of storytelling, being viewed as incommensurable

with the critical methods of modern historicism, are therefore cited as grounds for dismissing the referential claims these texts make about the past.¹²² Thus, if David, like Idrimi before him (COS 1.148), is portrayed as the banished, youngest son leading a group of fugitives in the wilderness (1 Sam 16–2 Sam 2), and if the Assyrian army, like the Achaean force on the Trojan plain (*Iliad* 1.4), is said to have been attacked by divine forces (2 Kings 19:35), then according to this viewpoint, what the historian encounters in these ancient accounts is a genre of fictional literature that evinces little historical interest in the persons and events from antiquity. Instead, the scribes behind these texts are viewed as the authors of a fabricated, mythic story of a distant past that draws on familiar, but historically spurious, tales and traditions current during their time.¹²³

This concern with the generic differences between ancient narrative and modern historiography is likely motivated by the desire to safeguard the historical by holding culpable any narrative account in which a historically implausible element may reside. Having noted various examples in which the biblical scribes pattern their stories on common cultural literary tropes, the referential claims made within the biblical record are thus deemed tainted, driven by considerations other than describing what actually transpired in antiquity, and thus judged incapable of referring to the past in a historically meaningful way. Thompson writes, for example, that “Biblical Israel is a theological and literary creation . . . It built this fiction out of traditions, stories, and legendary lore from Palestine’s past.”¹²⁴ As a result, biblical scribes “were doing something different than talking about the past or history-writing.”¹²⁵ A similar sentiment is implied in Davies’s distinction between a “literary” Israel produced by the biblical scribes and the “historical” Israel recovered by the modern historian,¹²⁶ with the historian’s task being one of “discovering how, and then how far, one might set about recovering history from the literature.”¹²⁷ Sifting the historical out of the literary, the critical historian is thus obligated to seek the “*real* historical society that generated the literary Israel of the Bible.”¹²⁸

In spite of its attempt to preclude the historian’s facts from being colored with literary fictions, disconcerting about this approach is its failure to perceive the ways in which every historical text is, as White’s seminal article argues, a “literary artifact.”¹²⁹ Discrediting the referential capacity of ancient texts on the basis of a strict distinction between the “literary constructs” of these writings and the “historical” generated by modern scholars, or in the careful separation of an “invented” history¹³⁰ produced by ancient scribes from the “real” history uncovered by critical historical scholarship “with a rationalistic view of things,”¹³¹ masks the assumption that modern historiography is able to bypass the referential challenges posed to a literary representation of the past. In spite of its modern hubris, such a presupposition is difficult to sustain. Rather, the constructed character of every historical reconstruction impinges upon the naïve belief that what separates the modern historian from the ancient storyteller is that the former is capable of

circumventing “inventive,” imaginative features within his or her historical portrayal of the past. The historical awareness of the post-Enlightenment era may empower its historians to exhibit more critical acumen in the treatment of their sources and permit them access to data that ancient authors did not possess, but this critical framework and evidence does not preclude contemporary historical treatments from introducing numerous fictive, “literary constructs” into their own historical works.

My intent in raising this point is not to dissolve the very important differences that do separate ancient narrative accounts from the critical inquiry of the modern historian. Instead, my argument is that the frequent and all too simplistic generic distinction between (fictional) storytelling and (true) history writing is a poor determinant of these differences. The artificial narrative framework and literary patterning imposed on the past by every historian, in other words, casts into doubt a rigorous categorical distinction between the “true” or “rational” work of modern historiography and the “invented” character of ancient narratives. The genre of modern historiography and those biblical narratives that represent a past may certainly differ, but this generic difference does not reside along the fault-lines of figurative language or fictional discourse.

The presence of premodern storytelling techniques within a particular ancient source does not then provide justification, *eo ipso*, for excluding their referential claims from historical consideration. This is simply to say that the historian of the ancient world cannot work on a basis of guilt by association any more than the judge. Herodotus diligently reports the divine miracles that saved the Delphian temple from the Persians (*Histories* 8.35–39); the first book of the *Babyloniaca* by Berossus is said to have begun with an account of how the fish-man Oannes emerged from the sea and offered the gifts of civilization; even Thucydides, ever on guard against *mythos* (*Thuc.* 1.22.4), nevertheless allowed various legends into his work, including one relating to Odysseus’s wanderings (*Thuc.* 4.24.5). None of these works, however, are dismissed outright by historians of antiquity as potential historical evidence because of their momentary failures to exclude notions of divine causality or supernatural occurrences unacceptable to the modern genre of historiography.¹³²

To suggest that “historicity” must be granted to a biblical narrative as a whole¹³³ or that historically authentic referential claims must be “clearly separated from the fictive contexts in which they are imbedded”¹³⁴ before these references can be investigated by the historian fails, then, to register the complexity of a historical representation always dependent on literary modes of figurative discourse. Worse, it lacks the sensitivity required to interpret and analyze premodern descriptions of the past that often blend together the legendary elements of a celebrated past with fragments of the historical. A more reasonable approach to the referential claims of ancient texts, my argument will run, attends therefore to every reference made within them on a case-by-case basis, being receptive to the ways in which

the storyworlds of these ancient texts both drew upon *and* created anew the past they endeavored to describe.

Readings of ancient texts that appraise their historical value according to ill-suited modern expectations of historiography are related to a further tendency that flattens the diachronic complexity of the language used to compose the diverse written works contained in the Hebrew Bible,¹³⁵ thus oversimplifying the ancient scribal processes that fashioned and transmitted these texts over a sustained period of time.¹³⁶ Recent studies devoted to scribal craft and production in the southern Levant have illuminated the intricate manner in which written traditions were carefully composed, memorized, preserved, and redacted beginning already in the Iron Age,¹³⁷ helping to clarify why, historically speaking, diachronic linguistic differences exist in a corpus of literature composed over the course of a millennia.¹³⁸ A richer understanding of scribal conventions in the region and an appreciation of the development of the Hebrew language used to compose the biblical corpus thus form important considerations when investigating the historical context and motivations behind the creation of these texts. Such considerations also attenuate those arguments that maintain that the biblical traditions were first conceived and written down by a small circle of scribes during a relatively short duration centuries after Israel or Judah ceased to exist as autonomous political entities.¹³⁹ That the portrait of David's Jerusalem will differ so radically between its rendering in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles suggests that the historian of antiquity must be attuned to the ways in which venerable cultural memories of a society's past were preserved, modified, erased, and recreated by ancient literary cultures over the course of centuries.¹⁴⁰

A more sensitive historical analysis of ancient literature must, then, contend with the diachronic and multivalent character of these texts and the vestiges of multiple pasts and differing viewpoints contained within them.¹⁴¹ Reconstructing the social conditions surrounding the creation of biblical texts by working back from the *terminus ante quem* of their earliest extant manuscripts carries little historical weight,¹⁴² making the Hebrew Bible, if this line of argument were to be followed, not Hellenistic or Greco-Roman, but first and foremost medieval.¹⁴³ If such a methodology were followed in other historical fields, Plato's dialogues would merit the consideration of being the product of Byzantine monks¹⁴⁴ and Suetonius's famed *Lives of the Caesars* would be traced not to Rome, but to a French monastery at Tours.¹⁴⁵ A better historical approach is to situate the creation of ancient texts within those periods (often multiple) that provide the most evidence, material and textual, for their literary production—not any possible time frame in which they may have been produced, but the most plausible ones.

Of course, even if an ancient text were to date much later than the events it recounts, its contribution toward a historical understanding of that past represented within it would still not be able to be dismissed *a priori*. The reason for this is the complex manner in which knowledge of the past was

transmitted over time in the ancient world.¹⁴⁶ Though it is certainly true that a written work will always bear the imprint of the period in which it is written, it does not follow from this premise that the only period reflected by a text is the one in which it was copied or composed—particularly in texts that purport to portray a past. As Homeric scholars have illustrated through a comparison of the Greek epics and the archaeological remains from the eastern Mediterranean region, subtle references to a Mycenaean Bronze Age world are embedded within texts that were composed in a late Iron Age milieu;¹⁴⁷ and, though written in the 3rd century BCE, the fragments of Berossus's *Babyloniaca* included detailed information on a Neo-Assyrian past supported by (and likely based on) sources composed in the 8th–7th centuries BCE. Contemporary texts and material culture are certainly of primary importance to the historian, and my point here is not to suggest otherwise. But it must be acknowledged as well that the distance of a written work from the events it describes is an inadequate measure of its overall historical value. The most trustworthy source for the life of Alexander the Great, Grabbe cautions, is Arrian, a Roman historian who wrote in the second century CE—or nearly five centuries after Alexander's death.¹⁴⁸

In sum, the most debilitating inconsistency among those who exclude the referential claims of the Hebrew Bible from a consideration of the southern Levant's Iron Age history is the failure to reflect on how the sharp critiques made against the literary features of these ancient texts similarly impinge on the contemporary historian's own historical reconstruction.¹⁴⁹ Such a lack of theoretical self-awareness leads in turn to an unnecessary reductionism regarding the capacity of ancient texts to refer to a past in a historically meaningful way. To maintain that the past is “a given to be discovered,”¹⁵⁰ that this past can be “verified,”¹⁵¹ or that the researcher need only follow a consistent methodology in order to defend “*against* ideology, bias, and presupposition”¹⁵² betrays a stark dependence on a late-19th-century epistemological framework that is naïve of the rigorous protests against it and unaware that such a stance toward historical epistemology finds few supporters among contemporary theoreticians and working historians in other disciplines.

Now removed from the early critiques of this epistemological framework by some 150 years, historical approaches dependent on an objective, Archimedean conceptions of historical verification, or methods rooted in questionable notions of the scientific character of historical knowledge¹⁵³ cannot be sustained without an extended defense of these positions. Said differently, such perspectives need to clarify how it is that their readings of ancient texts and attempts at historical reconstruction bypass the challenges of language and subjectivity they find so troubling in the ancient works they exclude as historical evidence.

In the end, it is precisely because of the absence of a modern distinction between story and critical historiography among the literary cultures that produced the Hebrew Bible that the historian is compelled to examine

those biblical references to an Iron Age past. This is not to suggest that the Hebrew Bible is a collection of texts replete with historical information, but only that there is nothing inherent to the form of these premodern narratives that can be cited as justification for rejecting their claims apart from a careful study of these references. Written, as all accounts of the past are, with particular motivations in mind and for certain purposes, the narratives recounted in the Hebrew Bible are no more problematic for the historian of the ancient world than any other text from antiquity, and certainly no less.

1.5 “THE CONTENT OF THE FORM:” BIBLICAL NARRATIVE AND THE REMEMBRANCE OF THINGS PAST

Identifying the writings of the Hebrew Bible as a potential historical source into ancient Israel and Judah’s Iron Age past leads to the question as to what type of evidence these texts might constitute and how the historian should approach them. The conviction running throughout my response to these inquiries is that a reply to them must begin by being attentive to the cultural context and assumptions of those scribes who first wrote down, read, and performed these texts within their society.¹⁵⁴

An issue that has long haunted this manner of investigation is the relationship between that past represented with the narrative works of the Hebrew Bible and the critical historiography that first appeared in the early modern period with the works of Lorenzo di Valla, Jean Mabillon, and Richard Simon.¹⁵⁵ As witnessed in the moniker of Noth’s “Deuteronomistic Historian,”¹⁵⁶ von Rad’s discussion of the “beginning of history writing in ancient Israel,”¹⁵⁷ or the more recent titles of Halpern and Brettler’s important studies,¹⁵⁸ a preponderance of influential historians have argued for the compelling affinities that exist between these biblical narratives and what is considered a genre of historiography. Reasons for the strong correlation between the two stem from the recognition that both the ancient texts of the biblical corpus and works of historiography represent a past in narrative prose form, emplotting heterogeneous references to a past world along a narrative storyline in order to describe and give meaning to what once occurred. This common act of narrating purported past events and experiences through vernacular prose writing thus prevents biblical narrative and historiography from ever being fully uncoupled. That ideological influences, fictional, imaginative discourse, and the utilization of literary tropes inform both the composition of these biblical stories and the best works of historiography only strengthens this connection.

Discomfort with a seamless correlation between biblical narrative and a genre of historiography nevertheless persists. This unease does not stem from the belief that the texts of the Hebrew Bible exhibit little interest in a historical past and remain mostly disconnected from it. Instead, this hesitancy to equate historiography with the narratives present in the Hebrew Bible can be attributed to certain methodological convictions about doing

history that accompany modern works of history writing. Three points of broad methodological divergences, I contend, demarcate the historian's craft from the writings about Israel and Judah's past in the Hebrew Bible:¹⁵⁹ the idea of historical agency and causality, the critical assessment of sources, and the appeal to available evidence to substantiate a historical portrayal.

The first distinction highlighted here is based on the biblical narrative's presupposition regarding those forces that instigate and shape history. In contrast to modernity's restriction of historical agency and causality to the human sphere, the worldview behind the Hebrew Bible, as with the great preponderance of literary cultures in antiquity, perceived that historical events transpired according to the designs of the gods. Rhetorically and stylistically, there are therefore no formal differences between the biblical accounts of the miraculous parting of the Jordan by Joshua (Josh 3:16), on the one hand, and David's retreat across the Jordan to Mahanaim on the other (2 Sam 17:22):

ויעמדו המים הירדים מלמעלה כמו נד אחד הרחק מאד

באדם העיר אשר מצד צרתן והירדים על ים הערבה

ים המלח תמו נכרתו והעם עברו נגד יריחו

And the waters of the Jordan that were above stood still. They rose up in a single heap from as far as Adam, the city which is next to Zarethan. And that of the Jordan which flows toward the Sea of the Arabah, the Sea of Salt, was completely cut off. Then the people crossed over opposite of Jericho.

ויקם דוד וכל העם אשר אתו ויעברו את הירדן עד אור הבקר עד אחד לא נעדר
אשר לא עבר את הירדן

Then David arose and all the people who were with him, and they crossed over the Jordan. At daybreak not one person was left who had not crossed over the Jordan.

Indeed, there is no indication from these accounts that the ancient scribes behind them or their audiences ever distinguished between such stories on supernatural grounds, relegating certain tales to the realm of the miraculous and situating others within the domain of the historically authentic. Such stories were simply of the past, and nowhere is the reader told, as with Herodotus's fascinating discussion of the possible reasons behind the Nile's flooding (*Histories* 2.19–32), if certain accounts were to be taken as true over against others.

Second, though sources were likely drawn on during the composition of the biblical narrative, what these sources contained and how they were evaluated by the biblical scribes is never made explicit within their writings. The

silence regarding their system of evaluation and interpretive method can be attributed in large measure to the conspicuous anonymity of these Hebrew scribes, a void of authorial identity made all the more striking when compared with the bold first-person declarations of the Hellenistic writers to the west and their candid methodological remarks pertaining to their manner of inquiry into the past, or *ιστορία*. Regardless of the precise reasons for the anonymity of the biblical writers, their reticence to offer insights into their craft and their lack of self-reflection on the interpretive methods used to assess the reliability of their sources remains a significant impediment toward linking their work to the critical, discriminating research of the historian.

The third distinction between the methods of the historian and the writings of the biblical storytellers concerns the appeal to available evidence.¹⁶⁰ What is striking about the biblical writings, for example, is that the scribes who wrote them cite additional written works not included in the biblical corpus.¹⁶¹ Such documents, given their titles, suggest they contained a wealth of historical information, yet never are these sources quoted directly or ever explicitly cited in support of a particular account. Instead, when these documents are mentioned, they are referred to with a certain rhetorical design,¹⁶² said to be available for those eager to read about a past the biblical scribes did not deem necessary or important for their own story: “And the rest of the acts of Solomon, all he did and his wisdom, are they not written on the scroll of the Acts of Solomon?” (1 Kings 11:41); “The rest of Jeroboam’s reign, his wars and how he reigned, they are written on the scroll of the Acts of the Kings of Israel” (1 Kings 14:18); “Now the rest of the acts of Amaziah, are they not written on the scroll of the Annals of the Kings of Judah?” (2 Kings 14:18) Why these works were not incorporated more fully into the Book of Kings is never stated. Such lost sources, however, become all the more provocative in light of the multiple versions of singular events that were allowed to endure within the biblical corpus, with no attempt made to indicate which version was the more accurate or reliable. Famously, both David and Elhanan kill Goliath of Gath (1 Sam 17; 2 Sam 21:19), and the first king of Israel, Saul, is anointed first by Samuel near Ramah, only to be chosen king by lot a few verses later in the town of Mizpah (1 Sam 10). Even in those fascinating instances where tales told in verse are retold in prose form (Ex 14–15; Judges 4–5), the prose renditions are placed alongside of, and not in place of, their poetic counterparts, with the narrator making no claim of authority or accuracy over against these other poetic sources. The reader is simply provided both versions.

What these differences suggest is that the biblical scribes were motivated by a host of different concerns than that of historians in the composition of their works. These scribes’ fascination with the past and their manifest desire to form complex and engaging stories about what once transpired was, in other words, animated by ambitions different from the modern historian’s determination to recover and compare disparate pieces of evidence

in an effort to reconstruct an authentic historical account of what once was. "Israel is told only that it must be a kingdom of priests and a holy people" Yerushalmi comments perceptively, "nowhere is it suggested that it become a nation of historians."¹⁶³

Notable efforts have been put forward nonetheless to preserve a strong link between a genre of historiography and the narrative works of the Hebrew Bible. To do so by expanding an understanding of historiography so as to include "any narrative that presents a past,"¹⁶⁴ however, collapses important modern distinctions between the discourse of myth or folklore and historiography, thus stripping the latter of its endeavor to represent, critically and accurately, what once actually occurred. On this view, there would simply be no way to distinguish between historiography and any other mode of storytelling. Other scholars, mindful of the important differences separating various genres of antiquity from that of modern historiography, have attempted to navigate these dissimilarities by distinguishing between an ancient genre of "history-writing" over against "historiography."¹⁶⁵ Locating these two forms of literature within generic categories that employ nomenclature that are, in fact, synonyms often used interchangeably in theoretical discussions nevertheless introduces more confusion than it dispels. And, though the works of a Thucydides or Arrian would certainly merit consideration as a form of ancient historiography, the question remains if the books of Samuel or Kings warrant these designations as well.

Problematic about these approaches to biblical narrative is not the attempt to lift up those important, often fascinating similarities that do exist between these stories and the historiography written today. Rather, the difficulty with these studies is one of clarity and precision, and the failure to reckon with the significant transformations in historical thought and practice that occurred with the dawn of the modern period.¹⁶⁶ Koselleck comments:

Our contemporary concept of history, together with its numerous zones of meaning, which in part are mutually exclusive, was first constituted toward the end of the 18th century. It is an outcome of the lengthy theoretical reflections of the Enlightenment. Formerly there had existed, for instance, the history that God had set in motion with humanity. But there was no history for which humanity might have been the subject or which could be thought of as its own subject. . . . One of the conceptual achievements of the Enlightenment was enhancing history into a general concept which became the condition of possible experience and possible expectation. Only from around 1780 can one talk of talk of "history in general," "history in and for itself," and "history pure and simple," and as all elaborations on this theme indicate, there was an emphasis on the departure of this new, self-referring concept from the traditional histories in the plural.¹⁶⁷

In relationship to premodern conceptions of the past, Koselleck concludes, our modernity stands on the far side of that fissure channeled out through considerations of historical epistemology brought into being through the Enlightenment. The differences apparent between premodern accounts of the past and works of modern historiography do not reside then in the common attempt to preserve remnants of former periods or in the desire to construct narratives about what once was,¹⁶⁸ but rather abide in the significant divergences occasioned by modernity's disenchantment of past reality and its critical evaluation of sources regardless of their origin or authority.

The separation between modern historiography and those premodern writings about the past found in the Hebrew Bible are not then merely methodological, but also deeply epistemological. On the one hand, these divergences rest on the modern historical conviction, utterly foreign to those in antiquity, that gods and their oracles can no longer be appealed to as the agents behind the course of events that transpire and the informants about what these events mean; on the other, this separation is rooted in an unprecedented "experience of history" opened up in the modern period, in which multiple, localized histories of diverse communities became subsumed under a more abstract and philosophically robust notion of a universal "history in general."¹⁶⁹ Driven to explore foreign societies and dig up ancient remains, modern research into the past has been able to expose an immense, shared global history unknown to sages in the ancient world, while also illuminating and sharpening the vast differences between present customs, mores, and ways of life from that which came before.¹⁷⁰ Only in modernity, in other words, has the historical present been claimed "as an observation point, even a tribunal, for all the formations, especially cultural formations, that have preceded it," with Ricoeur placing this modern stance toward the past under the emblem of the "uncanny."¹⁷¹ The profound rupture occasioned through the *neue Zeit* claimed by modernity demands, then, that any discussion of the historical character of the Hebrew Bible account not only for certain methodological disparities between its authors and modern historians, but to recognize as well the acute disjunction separating the historical epistemology of our time from those individuals writing in antiquity.

A consideration of that past knowledge generated through the writings of the Hebrew Bible thus requires that the historian be sensitive to the differences that separate the epistemological assumptions of our modernity from those undergirding the past stories composed by ancient Hebrew scribes. To do so, I will appeal to the character of memory as both a motivation and source behind the narrative works of the Hebrew Bible. This turn to memory makes no claim for novelty.¹⁷² My purpose in invoking the notion of memory here, however, is to engage the interpretive opportunities opened up through memory's epistemological relationship to the past. The advantage memory offers this investigation, I argue, is that it provides a more authentic understanding of the historical character of those referential claims made in the Hebrew Bible, and does so by differentiating these ancient accounts

from modern historiography without abandoning the biblical narrative's deep concern with the southern Levant's ancient past.

To begin, it is important to draw attention to the fact that the connection advocated for here between memory and the biblical past stems first from the explicit link made between memory and prose writing in the ancient Near East. From a comparative vein, the most conspicuous of these connections may be located in the "memorial" genre of West Semitic monumental inscriptions.¹⁷³ What is perhaps most striking about these lapidary inscriptions with regard to memory is the threat of *damnatio memoriae* placed at the end of many of these accounts. In the Azatiwada Inscription, for example, the text ends with a prototypical, pointed curse delivered against a series of imagined individuals who might be tempted to "erase the name of Azatiwada from this gate." (COS 2.31).

That Azatiwada felt compelled to include a threat against those who would erase his memorial inscription speaks to the possibility that such acts could, and likely did, occur in the region.¹⁷⁴ But the very presence of these remarks also attest to a more rudimentary awareness of the intimate relationship between the physicality of writing and memory in the region: reproduced at three different locations at the ancient site of Azatiwadaya, including at two different gates leading into the city, a central purpose of the inscription was to make certain that after Azatiwada's death, those who passed into the location remembered who was responsible for it. Noteworthy, then, is that the written word (here, composed in two distinct languages, Phoenician and Hieroglyphic Luwian)—and not simply a monument, a two-dimensional image, a ritual, or other means of representation—was the medium utilized by Azatiwada to preserve the memory of his building efforts. The curse levied against those who would attempt to distort this past by rewriting it only reinforces the impression of Azatiwada's profound understanding of the power writing had on shaping how a past was to be recollected.

The relationship between memory and writing in the Iron Age world of the eastern Mediterranean also extends beyond the attempt to preserve one's own achievements. In the Panamuwa Inscription (KAI 215), the ruler Bar-Rakib fashioned a stele so as to recount his father's acts within a "memorial" (*zkr*) that could be set before the king's tomb (KAI 215:21–22), and according to the Hadad Inscription (KAI 214), such commemorative writings could also involve ritual acts of remembrance so as to "remember (*yzkr*) eternally the dead spirit" of the ruler who commissioned the stele. (KAI 214:16). And, lastly, the Sefire Treaty illustrates how political discourse could draw on the language of memory when, in the conclusion to stele I, it is written: "Thus we have spoken [and thus have we writ]en. What I, [Mati']el have written (is to serve) as a reminder (*lzkrn*) for my son [and] my [grand]son" (Stele I, Face C: 2–3).¹⁷⁵

My intent in highlighting these instances of Iron Age West Semitic discourse is simply to underscore a native awareness of the intimate relationship between writing and memory within this period and place. Admittedly,

no such royal memorial inscriptions can be linked to the rulers of Israel or Judah. But the desire to remember (*zkr*) and the command to do so permeates the biblical corpus in a stunning array of forms: “Remember this day on which you came out of Egypt” (Ex 13:3); “Remember the long way that Yhwh your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness” (Deut 8:2); “Remember the days of old, consider the years long past” (Deut 32:7). The list could go on, touching on the call to remember particular legal stipulations (“remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy” [Ex 20:18]) to that of the language of covenant (e.g. Gen 9:15; Lev 26:42).

The widespread concern with remembrance in epigraphic and biblical sources from the ancient Levant is thus suggestive of memory’s role in motivating the production of written texts about the past. Indeed, when moving to the writings of other regions of the ancient world, one of the most frequently cited ways to remember—with both suspicion and awe—was the written word. To cite a famous instance, in Plato’s *Phaedrus*, the invention of writing is rehearsed in a myth, with the Egyptian deity of crafts, Theuth, declaring that he had “discovered a potion (φαρμάκον) for memory and wisdom” through the writing down of letters (*Phaedrus* 274^e).¹⁷⁶ Nearly two millennia before Plato’s dialogue, however, the Sumerian epic “Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta” had already connected the invention of writing to memory, or the lack thereof. In this ancient tale, the priest-king Enmerkar of Uruk is cited as having invented writing in order to transmit a long and impassioned message to his enemy, the Lord of Aratta, by way of an exhausted emissary traveling between the two distant kings. In order to relieve the burden of memorizing a complex account for a messenger already weary, Enmerkar writes down the message on a piece of clay so that it can be read aloud at a later time. Overcome by the ingenuity of his enemy and unable to read the account himself, the Lord of Aratta despairs. Formerly, the narrator remarks in an aside, “the writing of messages in clay had not been established.”¹⁷⁷

Whether viewed as a remedy or poison for the fallibility of memory, it is significant that the invention of writing is traced in these two very different ancient cultures to the problem of memory. More important for my argument here, however, is that this awareness of a text’s commemorative function finds particular concreteness in the Hebrew Bible. Within these ancient texts, no myths are rehearsed about the invention of the written word, but writing is instead exploited for the explicit purposes of remembering and recounting some past: “Yhwh said to Moses, ‘Write this as a reminder (*zikkārôn*) in a book and recite it to Joshua.’” (Ex 17:14a). Again and again, the biblical scribes mimic this divine command to Moses, *writing down* stories and verses from the southern Levant that echo a directive to remember: “Remember that you were a slave in Egypt” (Deut 5:15a); “remember now what King Balak of Moab devised, what Balaam son of Beor answered him, and what happened from Shittim to Gilgal” (Micah 6:5). Even famous statements about Israel’s collective past, likely oral in

nature and absent of the explicit command to write, illustrate the abiding connection between memory and writing in the very fact that these memories were, at some point in time, written down: “When the priest takes the basket from your hand and sets it down before the altar of Yhwh, your God, you shall answer before Yhwh your God: ‘A wandering Aramean was my father; he went down into Egypt’” (Deut 26:5a).

What these examples suggest is that the impetus for Hebrew scribes to write down stories about the past was nourished, at least in part, by an obligation to remember them. Nowhere in the biblical corpus in other words is the motivation to write down past experiences explicitly connected, as with Thucydides, with an effort “to consider the exact nature (τό σαφές σκοπεῖν)” about what once occurred (*Thuc.* 1.22). Instead, the strong emphasis on remembering that echoes throughout the biblical narrative indicates that an important reason for setting down older stories in writing was so that they could be recollected and recalled for new generations: “Keep these words which I am commanding you today on your heart. Recite them again and again to your children” (Deut 6:6–7a). Indeed, no cognate to the Greek ἱστορία appears within the literature of the Hebrew Bible, but references to remembering and memory (זכר) are widespread among a diverse collection of narratives. Connecting that past recounted within the Hebrew Bible to a form of memory, then, is an effort to understand its stories on its own terms, and not the terms of later Greek authors or our own modern historical culture.¹⁷⁸

The connection drawn here between memory and that past represented in the Hebrew Bible also suggests that the sources drawn upon by these scribes were similarly rooted in the cultural memories of their society’s past. In part, this link between cultural memory and source material is supported by the fact that the scribes responsible for the early formation of certain Hebrew prose texts would have had few writings on which to rely for the composition of their tales.¹⁷⁹ Consequently, much like Herodotus, who describes his sources as being oral in five out of every six times he refers to his λόγοι,¹⁸⁰ it is likely that early Hebrew scribes also drew on a host of oral tales, preserved through the generations via the conduits of cultural memory, for the writing of their stories about Israel and Judah’s past.

The question then is what type of knowledge was expressed through those biblical sources taken over from the cultural memories of the highland peoples. In terms of these stories’ epistemological underpinnings, it can be asserted that the information contained in such sources would have been shaped by the practices of memory once operative within the southern Levant: the memorization and recitation of oral tales, the communal participation in ritual acts of commemoration, the shared experience of sacred places, the common encounter with past symbols, the veneration of familiar monuments.¹⁸¹ What is crucial about the knowledge generated through these practices, consequently, is its participatory, communal, and selective character, and thus its differences from the historian’s independent

pursuit and examination of all extant evidence in the production of an accurate account of a given occurrence.¹⁸² Perhaps even more, it is the living, dynamic character of cultural memory, of its continual interplay between preservation and adaptation over time, which separates its claims about the past from the historian's research.

Ruptures between that knowledge claimed through a remembered past and that located through critical historical inquiry thus persist.¹⁸³ This point is not made in order to sever all epistemological ties between memory and history, and with Ricoeur it is important to recognize in memory its function as the "womb" or "matrix" of historical knowledge through the sense of temporality and anteriority opened up through the individual's capacity to remember.¹⁸⁴ Yet what separates the historian's past from the ancient literary memories of the biblical corpus is the historian's explicit determination to recover and compare disparate testimonies with other historical traces that may corroborate or discredit their claims: the contours of a potsherd, the destruction debris of a conquered city, the paleography of an inscription. To be sure, the knowledge elicited through the historian's interpretation of this evidence can only be "indirect, presumptive, conjectural,"¹⁸⁵ with the remoteness of an ancient past making its history ever more tenuous and unsettled than the historical knowledge affiliated with more recent eras. But in the historian's determination to bring together and assess those vestiges that remain from antiquity, an effort is made that is absent from the act of remembering: namely, the attempt to offer an argument about what once actually occurred through the evidence solicited and cited. From an epistemological standpoint, "the chasm between history and memory is hollowed out," Ricoeur writes, precisely "in the explanatory phase, in which the available uses of the connector 'because . . .' are tested."¹⁸⁶

Important for this study is that the images of David's Jerusalem explored in the following chapters often exhibit the dynamic, malleable character of cultural memory highlighted here, with those stories of David's capital in Samuel-Kings, for example, being profoundly reshaped by the author of Chronicles in response to the very different Jerusalem that this scribe encountered. As maintained most forcefully in the work of M. Halbwachs, such transformations to a remembered past are not unexpected, as the memories that sustain and inform a community are continually refashioned over time in response to the environment and experiences of those new communities who inherit them.¹⁸⁷ The supple character of cultural memory can, however, also be witnessed within individual biblical stories. Saul, to take but one instance, is generally condemned by the biblical scribes as an apostate and ineffectual ruler (1 Sam 13:13–14; 1 Chr 10:13–14), but is, in a few texts allowed to persist, also remembered as a noble and prophetic military leader and king (1 Sam 9:9–12; 1 Sam 10:24; 1 Sam 11:14). The seeming contradictions and fissures embedded within certain biblical texts regarding particular individuals or events can, when viewed through the lens of cultural memory, thus be perceived as more than work of deviant editors or the

failures of inattentive ancient scribes. Instead, such narratives can be understood as marking a “competition of memories” within a community over time. In a remarkable manner, memory and counter-memory were permitted by these scribes to stand together within their narratives.

In light of these observations, the question of whose memories are preserved within the Hebrew Bible becomes a historically meaningful consideration. The numerous power struggles and perspectives recounted in the Hebrew Bible reveal that those responsible for these stories were not a monolithic, homogenous community attending to “the” memories of Israel and Judah’s past. Rather, the cultural memories of David’s Jerusalem written into Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, for example, will reveal the workings of at least two distinct communities whose communal recollections were influenced by specific experiences conditioned by the world in which they lived. At best, then, what is preserved in the Hebrew Bible is a snapshot of a very particular set of cultural memories retained, shaped, and promulgated by a small (scribal/elite) contingent within these societies for very definite purposes.¹⁸⁸ Yet, even this small sample of memories preserved from what was certainly a richer and more variegated set of communal recollections allows the historian to examine what these elites and scribes believed was necessary to preserve about their collective past.

The benefit of examining the referential claims of the biblical narrative within the epistemological framework of cultural memory is thus twofold. First, an appeal to cultural memory maintains a necessary link between the stories of the Hebrew Bible and the southern Levant’s ancient past. This accent on memory, however, also disassociates these texts from the methodological and epistemological expectations of works of historiography. In this sense, a turn to memory permits greater sensitivity to that past portrayed in the Hebrew Bible, as it allows the historian to be attentive to “*a historical form of consciousness* rather than attempting . . . to identify *a form of historical consciousness*.”¹⁸⁹ Accordingly, a focus on the referential claims of cultural memory encourages an openness toward other, premodern possibilities of knowing the past that transcend the rigid and misleading distinction between the historian’s fact and the storyteller’s fiction.

Attentiveness toward the character of cultural memory also provides greater conceptual clarity when the stories of the Hebrew Bible are set alongside those narratives produced by eastern Mediterranean scribes influenced by axial age developments.¹⁹⁰ As with the broader and more antiquated ancient Near Eastern scribal milieu of which it was part, the relationship between memory and the Hebrew Bible suggests that those scribes responsible for the biblical narrative were positioned on the “far side of the axial threshold”¹⁹¹ regarding a critical investigation into Israel and Judah’s past. That is, nowhere in Mesopotamia or the Levant do we find the introspective, first-person reflections voiced by later Greek authors regarding their method for adjudicating the truth of what once transpired and the evidence used to substantiate these accounts—language that, in line

with axial age developments, announced these authors' willingness to stand outside of their tradition and critique it.¹⁹² No scribe from the "pre-axial" ancient Near East, in other words, will offer the stunning claim embedded in the opening chapters to Herodotus's *Histories*: "These [stories] are the what the Persians and Phoenicians say; now I have no intent of coming to judgment on this or that account. *But I will rely on my own knowledge* concerning who it was who first undertook unjust acts against the Greeks" (*Hist.* 1.5.3).¹⁹³ Nor will any scribe match the critical, even presumptuous, remarks of Thucydides regarding his literary predecessors:

"However, I do not think that one will be far wrong in accepting the conclusions I have reached from the evidence which I have put forward. It is better evidence than that of the poets, who exaggerate the importance of their themes, or of the prose chroniclers, who are less interested in telling the truth than in catching the attention of their public." (*Thuc* 1.21)

Instead, as Machinist keenly demonstrates, explicit analytical inquiry and candid questioning of past traditions by an individual author begins to emerge first within the biblical traditions with Ecclesiastes, whose writings were likely heir to axial age developments.¹⁹⁴

As emphasized throughout this discussion, the biblical storyteller—as with the great preponderance of pre-Hellenistic ancient Near Eastern scribes—remained anonymous and evinced little of Herodotus's or Thucydides's explicit concern with the validation of an account's claims about the past. Consequently, within the literary culture of ancient Israel and Judah, we do not find its nameless scribes stepping back from their tradition and reflecting on how the past is to be known or how it should be recorded (a form of second order "thinking about thinking") in the manner of later axial age authors. An important divide persists therefore between that past preserved in the narratives of the Hebrew Bible steeped in cultural memory and the "rupture" or emergence of a more reflexive, self-conscious *mentalité* of historical thought and research that arose during axial developments in other geographic locations later in the first millennia BCE.

Such a thesis, however, requires some nuance. For it must be acknowledged that the dominant use of a third person voice, the development of a narrative preterite, and a commitment to write in a vernacular language did permit the scribes of ancient Israel and Judah a certain critical distance and historical perspective that was quite rare in the literature of their ancient Near Eastern counterparts in Mesopotamia, and which situated the past represented within the Hebrew Bible on the precipice of important axial age breakthroughs in historical thought and practice. Why individual Israelite or Judahite scribes did not then take the further step to stand outside the traditions of their community and critically assess these stories in the authoritative, individualistic manner of a Herodotus or Thucydides is

assuredly a more complex question than can be answered here.¹⁹⁵ What can be suggested, however, is that a response to this question must take into account the frequent biblical directive for Israel and Judah to remember its past and a literary culture dedicated to supporting this command by carefully preserving and transmitting those cultural memories about what once occurred. The command to remember the past, in other words, was something quite different than the desire to distill and record the “the exact nature” (*Thuc* 1.22) of what once occurred.

If the “content of the form”¹⁹⁶ of that past portrayed in the Hebrew Bible can be affiliated with the character of cultural memory, the question arises as to how the historian comes to assess the historical value of these texts. The very different epistemological underpinnings highlighted here between the knowledge generated through cultural memory and the historian’s research cautions against any interpretive approach that would seamlessly appropriate the referential claims of a community’s memories within a critical work of history. For such an appropriation would neglect, and thus become vulnerable to, the transformations to a remembered past that can be introduced into such memories as later generations makes these stories their own. Indeed, a persistent temptation, as already seen, is to forego the referential claims embedded within these ancient works in order to safeguard one’s historical analysis against the potential misrepresentations such references may introduce through a memory’s susceptibility to being damaged, manipulated, or coerced.¹⁹⁷

Yet to close off historical research from the claims of a remembered past fails to perceive that even the most stringent historical accounts are, at their core, rooted in the memories of others.¹⁹⁸ Accordingly, the disparate epistemological commitments separating memory from history cannot be cited as justification for an *a priori* rejection of a memory’s claims about the past. The stubborn avowal of memory to be “of the past,”¹⁹⁹ confirmed within every act of recognition, indicates that the claims of a remembered past must be examined within the historian’s research. The task of the historian confronted with the literary memories of an ancient scribal culture, consequently, is to “expand, correct, criticize, and even refute” the claims made within these writings in order to bring about a more authentic and judicious account of what once was.²⁰⁰ Or, to put it more succinctly, the historian’s responsibility is to “use memory in order to get beyond it.”²⁰¹

How this assessment transpires is necessarily conditioned by the topic the historian explores. The task of the concluding sections of this chapter is thus to develop an interpretive approach toward the memories of the biblical past with reference to the history of place at the center of this study. To presage the discussion that follows, my contention is that because of the intimate relationship between place and memory, an interpretive framework devoted to the history of an ancient location is best served by abiding within a dialectical approach to the evidence available, in which the historian attends to the

semblances and discrepancies that arise when situating the material remains of a location and its textual references on a single interpretive plane.

1.6 RECONSTRUCTING THE HISTORY OF PLACE, PART I: INCIDENTAL TRACES

Unique about the history of an ancient place is that its past is often attested to through both material remains and literary references. A history dedicated to what once took place at a particular location thus invites the historian to move beyond a poetics restricted to either material culture or written texts, and instead pursue a dialectical interpretive approach that is attentive to the relationship between the two. Such an interpretive framework must, however, proceed with caution. Many histories of the southern Levant have foundered upon an inadequate understanding of the interpretive relationship between archaeology and the biblical text by distorting this past through either a straightforward acceptance of the realism evoked by the biblical narrative, or through a misuse of a region's material culture by way of a program intent on the historical verification or falsification of the biblical story. Inadequate to the project of verification, a more cautious, descriptive approach is advocated for here in the interpretive use of material remains for a historical reconstruction; always composed within and in response to a material world, the historical significance of ancient texts will accordingly be assessed by their relationship to the material contexts in which they were produced. The task of this section is to illustrate how the first part of this dialectical approach unfolds.

"The trace," writes Ricoeur, invites the historian "to pursue it, to follow it back, if possible to the person or animal who passed this way . . . it orients the hunt, the quest, the search, the inquiry."²⁰² Yet traces are comprised of two types, and it is important for the historian to differentiate between them in the hunt for what has been. The first category is comprised of those vestiges left behind unintentionally, vital to the historian's reconstructive effort because this evidence was not produced by those interested in influencing how the past was to be understood. These are Bloch's "witnesses in spite of themselves":²⁰³ the detritus collected into an ancient pit, the pottery shards detailing economic relations between city and village, the amulet placed in a tomb and sealed away for millennia. The significance of these incidental traces is not predicated on some mistaken perception that such relics are more historically transparent²⁰⁴ or pose less interpretive challenges than those written accounts generated purposely in order to shape how a past was to be later understood.²⁰⁵ Rather, the importance of these traces are grounded instead in the recognition that the possibility of distortion surrounding an incidental trace, though still present, is less than that of those secondary sources fashioned in order to persuade another of what has been. That is, if the historian is to avoid falling "prey of the same prejudices, false

inhibitions, and myopias which had plagued the vision” of those ancient authors who composed accounts about the past, then a move must be made to explore the evidence of that past they did not relate to us, or did not want us to know.²⁰⁶

Because incidental, contemporaneous written texts from early Iron Age Jerusalem (receipts of economic transactions, diplomatic letters, or temple archives) are not available, the first movement of the interpretive approach to David’s Jerusalem in what follows will be archaeological in orientation. Beginning the reconstructive process by turning first to the material remains of ancient Jerusalem is accordingly pragmatic in bent, and not intended to suggest that the information gleaned from an archaeological analysis will always prove to be more meaningful, historically speaking, than that of the textual record. Rather, according priority to contemporaneous artifacts forms a certain “rule of thumb” for the ancient historian to follow at the outset of an investigation in a manner akin to the text critic’s *lectio difficilior potior*. Turning first to contemporaneous material remains from a site may prove misguided, and the most difficult reading of an ancient manuscript is certainly not always the original, but such presuppositions provide a starting point for the historian’s analysis.

A further reason for this initial turn to the material culture of an ancient place, however, resides in the very physicality of a location and its landscape. The past century of archaeological research has shown that the evidence recovered through an excavation is especially suited to illuminate the lifeways, social practices, and lived spaces buried within the remains of ancient sites, and less capable of registering the more precise details related to the brief life of an important ruler or the specific factors involved in a battle or a dynastic upheaval. As a consequence, a history devoted to place has as its interest that data which archaeology is best able to provide: the contours of a typical domicile, the food supply available to a particular site, the trade networks between locations, the ideologies that inhere to certain buildings or landscapes.

As a dialectical process, this interpretive move nevertheless requires that an initial turn to contemporaneous material culture remain bound, hermeneutically, to the textual sources that also attest to what once transpired there. How this interpretive relationship develops from the standpoint of archaeology is a process analogous, I maintain, to what S. Sherratt terms the establishment of “archaeological contexts” for the historical evaluation of ancient literary references.²⁰⁷ The aim of archaeological research within this interpretive schema, Sherratt writes, is to produce broad descriptions of various archaeological contexts—economic indicators, cultural idiosyncrasies of prestige items or architecture, ideological beliefs displayed through visual representations or ritual remains—recovered within a region of interest in order to read ancient literary references to these places with greater historical sophistication. Layering each understanding of a certain material context atop the next, the historian thus endeavors to establish a

more substantial, “thick” rendering of the material world connected to the time and place in which the storyworld of an ancient text also occurs. In attempting to discern what historical insights may or may not be gleaned from various scenes in the *Tale of Sinuhe*, for example, the historian would turn in a comparative vein to the material remains of early 2nd millennium BCE Egypt and Canaan;²⁰⁸ to determine what light the literary traditions of *Beowulf* might shine on the history of the early medieval period in northern Europe, the historian would attend to the material culture of the western Baltic in the 5th–7th centuries CE.²⁰⁹ Through this interpretive process, the worlds of story and materiality are thus held up to one another, allowing the historian to perceive what possible semblances are obtained between them, and to ascertain what features of the latter are reflected, ignored, or obscured by those ancient narrative references to it.

The motivation behind this interpretive process is not therefore driven by a positivistic impulse to verify or nullify the historical authenticity of a textual referent by illustrating its parallels to a past attested to through material remains. Rather, this interpretive process is one of triangulation, in which a variety of distinct material and textual referents are viewed together in order to perceive what, if any, patterns of commensurability may arise. The interpretive significance of archaeological remains for that past referred to within a text, then, is to build up a wide range of heterogeneous material traces that contribute to a deeper understanding of that world in which particular stories were said to have taken place, and to perceive what deviations and affinities exist between these texts and their archaeological contexts.²¹⁰

To illustrate this interpretive framework more concretely, Sherratt provides a number of examples in which material contexts connected to Late Bronze and Iron Age Mycenaean societies can be utilized as an interpretive aid for an understanding of the historical background of Homeric epic. Two instances Sherratt draws out from the *Iliad* are particularly striking. In the first example, Sherratt focuses on the description of the funeral games of Patroklos (*Iliad* xxiii.826–35) where a prize offered for the victor is a lump of unworked iron.²¹¹ As the description of this prize unfolds, Sherratt notes that two very different understandings of the iron’s value are highlighted within the bard’s poem: the metal is first depicted as the highly regarded object of heroes (portrayed as the throwing-weight of Eëtion) and a prized spoil of war acquired by Achilles, but then suddenly, in a matter of a few lines, an understanding of iron shifts into a rather mundane object most useful to the daily chores of the shepherd and the ploughman. In another example, Sherratt notes the detailed account of Ajax’s shield (*Iliad* vii.219–223): standing “tower-like,” the large shield is said to have been constructed of seven layers of oxhide and one layer of bronze, and yet other characters in the story carry the small, circular shields more common to later Iron Age Hoplite warriors.

In both of these instances, Sherratt contends that the archaeological record of the eastern Mediterranean region is crucial for a historical understanding

of these textual references and the complex historical development of the Homeric poems themselves. The changing evaluation of iron's value and the description of Ajax's shield can best be linked, Sherratt notes, to the long prehistory of this epic:²¹² in the Bronze Age, when these Homeric traditions first arose, iron was primarily identified as a prestige item in the Aegean, often being melded with gold in the form of rings or trinkets. But from the 10th century BCE onwards, iron became increasingly utilized for daily tools. In a similar manner, Ajax's tall, full-bodied shield was known to be a prominent aspect of Bronze Age warfare in the eastern Mediterranean, but disappeared from military use among the Greeks in the 14th century BCE, giving way to the smaller, rounded shield of hoplite warriors and mercenaries. Sherratt suggests that such references indicate that those late 8th century or 7th century BCE Homeric scribes who first set down these poems in writing drew upon numerous past traditions in the formation of their texts.²¹³ A work composed in the late Iron Age, in other words, evinced cultural attitudes and understandings attested to in the archaeological record of a late Bronze Age world.

Sherratt is careful not to make the argument that the Homeric poems thus offer an authentic portrait of the Bronze Age Mycenaean society in which these stories appear to take place (the texts in fact accord better with the 8th–7th century BCE material world within which they were composed), or that, motivated by these affinities, archaeology return to the famed pursuits of H. Schliemann and attempt to prove the historicity of the Homeric accounts. Rather, the interpretive value of material remains within this interpretive framework is linked to two other considerations. First, a broad knowledge of the material culture of a region enflashes the storyworld of literary texts, giving these written accounts a depth they would lack without the careful exploration of a region's archaeological remains. Reading the captivating lines of Odysseus and Telemachus's battle with Penelope's suitors (*Odyssey* xxii) with archaeological data in mind, for example, endows these scenes with a certain concreteness and imaginative visibility made manifest through the architectural details of Late Bronze Age Mycenaean palatial dwellings.

Second, Sherratt contends that archaeological contexts also illuminate the ways in which the material reality of a certain time and place influenced how ancient stories were shaped over the centuries. Always composed in response to a lived, physical world, the aggregation of archaeological data from a particular era can thus be used as an interpretive matrix, to ascertain the material environment reflected within certain ancient texts. The advantage of doing so is that it allows the historian to perceive the possible historical periods (often multiple) within which ancient literary texts were created and reshaped.

Though few would maintain a bardic, oral "prehistory" to the biblical books of Samuel, Kings, or Chronicles, the compositional history of these works is at least as complicated as that of the various oral traditions that

lay behind the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Attending to the archaeological contexts drawn from excavations in and around a site such as Jerusalem holds the possibility of illuminating the compositional setting of various texts that were shaped from different ideological vantage points and different eras in time. From this perspective, an important reason for attending to the archaeological contexts behind the Hebrew Bible is to situate certain textual references within the material world that they best reflect—whether that world is of the early Iron Age, the late Iron Age, or the Persian or Hellenistic periods.

Affixed to the contours of a location is an additional material context not addressed in Sherratt's work, but one I believe that is also important for the history of place: namely, the "commemorative" remains of a location.²¹⁴ By commemorative remains, I mean those features of a location particularly suited to the preservation and arousal of a community's shared cultural recollections. Though intimately related to those ideological or cultural contexts underscored by Sherratt, the impetus for focusing explicitly on commemorative material contexts for a history of place arises from the manner in which the tangible remains of venerable locations act as generative force for a community to remember its collective past.

Two observations concerning the commemorative character of a place can be linked to the pioneering work of M. Halbwachs in the early 20th century. First, Halbwachs maintained that any memory, individual or collective, was formed in response to certain social cues or frameworks (*cadres*). The past recalled within a community, Halbwachs contended, was thus always a past created in part through the social interactions that took place within a particular environment. An individual's memory was therefore more than a static repository of personal occurrences, but a dynamic, ever-transforming and transformative organ of experience in which a variegated collection of memories were effectuated through an individual's participation in multiple social networks and practices. "No memory," Halbwachs asserted, "is possible outside frameworks used by people in society to determine and retrieve their recollections."²¹⁵

Second, Halbwachs asserted that those frameworks used to "determine and retrieve" memories were necessarily material in character. Halbwachs writes:²¹⁶

Thus, every collective memory unfolds within a spatial framework. As it happens, space is a reality that endures: because our impressions move quickly past, one to the other, and leave nothing behind in our mind, we understand that *we are able to recover the past only if it is preserved, in effect, by the material environment that surrounds us.* (My Italics)

Central to Halbwachs's theoretical understanding of collective memory, then, was that a group's common recollections were something more

than the product of disembodied social relationships, but were instead generated through forms of social activity that occurred *within and in response to concrete material reality*. Most important for this investigation into a history of place is consequently Halbwachs's contention that among the most significant of these material frameworks for memory were those locations individuals inhabited and revisited over time.²¹⁷ The physical experience of a place and its capacity to endure over the course of many generations—a public building, a city square—was for Halbwachs one of the most powerful influences on a community's memory of its shared past.

Halbwachs explored this insight into place's import for memory most rigorously through his analysis of the development of religious pilgrimage sites scattered across the Levant. Fascinating to Halbwachs were those distinct places in and around Jerusalem or the Galilee, for example, that during the 4th and 5th centuries CE were transformed into locations for pilgrimage and "sites of memory" of 1st-century CE Christian events. Halbwachs's analysis of these locations concluded that the recollection of early Christian experiences by subsequent Christian communities three to four centuries later in time was intricately wed to the material remains of ancient structures and landscapes connected to venerated holy sites—whether or not these ruins were in fact the actual historical remains of those places where important events had indeed occurred. Halbwachs writes:

for them [early Christians] Jerusalem was not the celestial city suspended between heaven and earth. It was a city built with stones and made of houses and streets that were familiar to them. It is on account of the stability of these things that their memories endured. But that stability is at the mercy of all the material accidents that slowly transform or even destroy cities.²¹⁸

A particular "physical object, a material reality such as a statue, a monument, a place in space" thus held two potentialities within Halbwachs's reflection on memory. On the one hand, the physical remains of meaningful places provided "stability" for memories to endure; on the other, the physical transformation of these places over time also held the possibility of altering the relationship between a community's memories and the history of what actually once took place.

Halbwachs's observations on the relationship between the physical features of places and the formation of a community's memories provides a significant point of connection to the interpretive approach advocated for here in its relationship to "archaeological contexts." If, as Halbwachs maintained, the very physicality of a location was a generative force for the creation of a community's cultural memories over time, then an important area of inquiry for the study of texts informed by cultural memory becomes the archaeological remains that attest to the material world within which

these texts were composed.²¹⁹ Said differently, a hermeneutic devoted to ancient writings shaped by the practices of a culture's commemorative activity must attend to the ways in which the landscape and structures of meaningful places potentially influenced the past recounted within these literary works.

This theoretical interest in the materiality of memory is supported by an abundance of evidence that attests to the commemorative character of spaces and structures located at significant locations from antiquity. Three different Babylonian rulers over the course of three centuries in the 1st millennium BCE, to cite a noteworthy example, traveled to the ancient site of Sippar in order to make restorations to the great Ebabbar temple located there so as to explicitly connect themselves to the public memory of the Sargonids who ruled centuries, and even millennia, before.²²⁰ Likewise, archaeologists in Crete have noted that a number of the impressive palaces of the Minoan era were, after their abandonment and decay with the collapse of the Bronze Age, transformed into cultic sites by later inhabitants of the island who desired to venerate the remains of this vaunted past three hundred years later.²²¹ In a famous instance of *damnatio memoriae* from ancient Rome, Geta, murdered by his brother and co-regent Caracalla, had his image erased from all imperial art displayed in the empire, including the famous Severan Tondo that once stood prominently in Egypt.²²² Meaningful places and the material reality that constituted them—from temples to palaces to imperial images—were thus actively manipulated in the ancient world in attempts to preserve or reshape memories of particular periods in time.

Material culture recovered from ancient locations can therefore serve, among other interpretive possibilities, as the “contexts in which memory practices are materialized.”²²³ Considering that one of the most important of these memorial “practices” for an ancient literary culture was the writing down of stories about the past, an examination of the referential claims made within the Hebrew Bible benefits from a rigorous archaeological analysis of those places to which these texts refer and within which they were composed. In reading through the references to an ancient past enclosed within a particular biblical text, the historian must then be attentive to how the physical character of a site or landscape, restored in part through the work of archaeology, potentially shaped the stories recollected about it. A biblical text about David's Jerusalem may retain memories connected to how the site appeared in the early 10th century BCE, but equally as important is the recognition that the depiction of David's capital may have been influenced by the experience of a much larger Jerusalem in the late Iron Age, or portrayed in response to the settlement's impoverished status in the Persian era. Memory's strong dependence on place, in other words, means that the past preserved in ancient texts informed by the practices of cultural memory are always vulnerable to the changing character of a location over time.

1.7 RECONSTRUCTING THE HISTORY OF PLACE, PART II: THE WORLD OF THE TEXT

A consideration of the interpretive possibilities opened up by reading ancient texts with reference to certain archaeological contexts also requires that this hermeneutical operation be transposed, with the study of these texts being utilized in turn to understand the meaning of the material remains left behind at a location. From this side of the interpretive dialectic, an examination of the referential discourse preserved within a document must be brought forward in an effort to attain a more comprehensive understanding of what M. Weber termed the “meaningfully oriented behavior” of past peoples.²²⁴ Accordingly, what is sought after within this approach to an ancient text—as much a historical artifact as any potsherd or figurine—is to illuminate the purpose and significance of the material remains recovered from a site for the individuals who left them behind.

Disconcerting about efforts made to write a history of the southern Levant’s ancient past without recourse to the Hebrew Bible, therefore, is the data it neglects.²²⁵ For a move beyond empirical descriptions of material artifacts to a historical appraisal of the meaning of these material remains for the lives of the people who utilized them is one enriched through the referential, written discourse produced by a literary culture.²²⁶ The interpretive importance of ancient texts is not predicated then on an absence of symbolic significance attached to material remains, but is rooted instead in the absence of those ancients who once handled these materials and the impossibility of questioning them directly about the meaning of their practices. The referential discourse contained within texts from the ancient world can thus offer a number of crucial historical insights, such as how a particular ideology regarding kingship or kinship structures in the ancient Near East, discernible in the written record, potentially influenced the architecture of a palace²²⁷ or the layout of a domicile.²²⁸

This accent on textual references for an understanding of the use and meaning of those material remains recovered through archaeological research finds particular significance for the relationship between place and memory highlighted throughout this study. For it is a particular feature of the Hebrew Bible that physical objects are often described as having the power to both evoke and preserve a remembered past.²²⁹ A famous instance of the memory work, as cited in the introductory chapter to this volume, is the placing of unhewn stones at the Jordan River to act as an *aide-mémoire* for a community concerning a particular past event (Josh 4:1–9). Yet a large number of physical objects are accorded a similar power within the biblical narrative. Saul, Absalom, and David are all cited as having set up monuments (מַצְבָּה / מַצְבֵּה) to themselves at specific locations (Carmel, the Euphrates, Jerusalem [1 Sam 15:12; 2 Sam 8:3; 2 Sam 18:18]), with Absalom establishing his marker in response to the very fact that he had “no son to commemorate [his] name.” Tombs of famous ancestors and rulers (Gen 35:20; 1 Kgs

22:51), altars constructed by distant warriors and prophets (Judg 6:24; 1 Sam 7:17; 1 Sam 18:30), homes of kings (Neh 12:37), and, of course, cities themselves (Josh 5:9; Judg 1:26; 2 Kgs 14:7; Ezek 27:29) are all described within the Hebrew Bible as material means by which a certain past was evoked and recalled. What is particularly striking about the characterization of these objects is the manner in which so many are described by the narrator as still being present “to this day” for an audience to experience, and how nearly all of these objects are explicitly connected to particular places: “Thus Joshua set Ai aflame, and made it an everlasting tel of ruins, as it is to this day” (Josh 8:28). The capacity of a place to “hold in” and retain cultural memories, to borrow from Casey’s terminology, is consequently linked in the Hebrew Bible itself to the items these places contained.²³⁰

What these references indicate is an acute awareness on the part of the biblical scribes regarding the manner in which physical objects—the ruined walls of former cities, an altar atop a mountain, a tomb carved into a hillside—were capable of calling to mind a more distant past for writer, reader, and audience alike.²³¹ Attending to the description of a site within the Hebrew Bible thus helps to elucidate how a sense of the past active among the literary cultures behind the biblical narrative was often explicitly formed in response to certain localized objects that commemorated particular events and peoples. The function of *maṣṣēbôt*, rock-cut tombs, prestige items, public buildings, and communal spaces recovered through archaeological research can therefore find additional meaning, in part, through a reflection on how these items were characterized within ancient texts, and how their purpose was often linked to the memory work they performed.

An interpretive approach to the archaeological evidence bearing on the history of an ancient place benefits then from an openness to the literary references related to its material remains. Earlier, it was argued that the material culture unearthed from antiquity enflashes the storyworld of ancient texts; ancient texts, in turn, give a voice and soul to those mute and lifeless material traces left behind from an ancient culture. Information pertaining to the position, height, weight, and markings on a *maṣṣēbāh* found *in situ* at an ancient location is invaluable to a reconstruction of the site’s history; so too is the biblical narrator’s account of the power and animosity such an item evoked in ancient Israel when, in a text such as 2 Kgs 10:27, the standing stone of Ba’al was said to have been singled out in Jehu’s purge, torn down with the temple around it, and turned into a latrine “to this day.”

1.8 CONCLUSION

My intent in this chapter has been to disclose that “place of production” from which the historical investigations in the following chapters emerge.²³² If a thread can be found that runs throughout this chapter’s reflection, it is a concern with the historian’s epistemological framework and the profound

challenges encountered in the reconstruction of an ancient past. At the very least, this chapter's discussion has attempted to draw attention to those issues and concerns that make every attempt to represent a past a complex, even audacious affair, and to illustrate through this reflection the methodological and epistemological commitments undergirding this study's approach to a "history of place."

Ever in the background of this discussion has been the "elective affinity" that Casey demonstrates between place and memory.²³³ Throughout this deliberation, my aim has thus been to work toward a dialectical approach concerning the interpretation of material and textual evidence that pertain to the history of an ancient location. In practice, what this hermeneutical framework requires from the historian is a commitment to view past material vestiges and textual referents together on a single interpretive arc in an effort to negotiate the semblances and variances that are obtained between them. Unable, after Nietzsche, to represent a historical past through an appeal to an objective, impartial, and universally recognized vantage point, my argument here has been that it can only be through the patient articulation of the connections and gaps exposed through the layering of past referents together, textual and artifactual, that a historical reconstruction is able to unfold. Furthermore, it is only through the recovery of new data, the establishment of better interpretive connections, and the development of more persuasive arguments that a particular historical portrayal can be challenged.

The studies of David's Jerusalem in the following chapters all bear the imprint of the interpretive dialectic developed here. Admittedly, the attempt to bring together archaeological and textual data suffers from the fact that the discipline of archaeology is a distinct area of study, and increasingly so, from that of the literary analysis of texts from the ancient Near East, with each discipline being engaged in important inner-disciplinary monologues dependent on a specific set of specialties and aptitudes. Nevertheless, it is also the case that, in spite of the need for such specialization, "each monologue in turn has its limitations" when contributing toward a historical understanding of a particular era from the ancient world.²³⁴ Obligated to press upon the limits of what can be known about the past in the pursuit of a more accurate and judicious historical representation of what once was, the argument here is that that historian of antiquity must endeavor to combine the study of ancient texts with a region's material remains so as to provide a more robust, authentic, and compelling historical account.

The circularity inherent to this interpretive dialectic cannot be denied. To some, the refusal to accord interpretive priority to either material or textual evidence and the absence of closure within this hermeneutical process will be deemed too great an impediment for the production of an authentic account of that past at the center of the historian's reconstructive efforts. Yet, in the absence of an Archimedean position by which to objectively view a particular historical period, it must be admitted that all acts of

interpretation—archaeological, literary, historical, or otherwise—are necessarily circular, with the historian’s preconceptions about the past being, in point of fact, a requisite for historical study to take shape and unfold.²³⁵

Even so, it must also be acknowledged that the absence of the past and the dependence on such a hermeneutical framework requires a certain form of epistemological humility, sober in the realization that “[a]s a substitute for the absent being, an enclosure of the evil genius of death, the historical text plays a performative role”²³⁶ and not a restorative one. Bereft of the possibility of visiting and revisiting the actual Jerusalem of antiquity and recording the affairs of its civic life, my attempt to depict the character of this ancient city finds little of the confidence contained within the cartographer’s study of a land mass that lay before her eyes.²³⁷ Nevertheless, in the face of the potential errors, distortions, or misjudgments produced by the historian because of the absence of what one studies, an “endless rectification of all our configurations”²³⁸ remains possible. What this means is that novel reconstructions and reimaginings of David’s Jerusalem on the basis of new evidence and theoretical perspectives must continue.

NOTES

1. Yosef Yerushalmi, *Zakhor* (1996), 10.
2. See, however, the more recent works of Diane Banks, *Writing the History of Israel* (2006) and Meghan Bishop Moore, *Philosophy and Practice in Writing a History of Ancient Israel* (2006).
3. Heinrich Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus* (5 vols.; 1843–55); Martin Noth, *Geschichte Israels* (1950); John Bright, *A History of Israel* (1959). J. Maxwell Miller and John Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (1986); Mario Liverani, *Israel’s History and the History of Israel* (2003).
4. G.W.F. Hegel, *Introduction to the Philosophy of History* (1988 [1837]): esp. 31–35. For an important critique of these Western, 19th-century assumptions of history writing, see especially Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation* (1997).
5. Barstad echoes this sentiment: “Many scholars still write so-called histories of ancient Israel . . . unaware of the fact that there has been a veritable upheaval in the theoretical discussion about the nature of history and the possibilities of history writing in general.” Hans Barstad, *History and the Hebrew Bible* (2008): 9.
6. So Ricoeur asks: “how does history, in its literary writing, succeed in distinguishing itself from fiction? To pose this question is to ask how history remains or rather becomes a representation of the past, something fiction is not, at least in intention.” Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (2004), 190.
7. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory* (1994); Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (1995); Gerdien Jonker, *Topography of Remembrance* (1995); Susan Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past* (2002); Ruth Van Dyke and Susan Alcock, eds., *Archaeologies of Memory* (2003); Norman Yoffee, ed., *Negotiating the Past in the Past* (2007); Andrew Jones, *Memory and Material Culture* (2007); Barbara Mills and William Walker, eds., *Memory Work* (2008); Edward Casey, *Getting Back into Place* (2009);

- Ömür Harmanşah, *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East* (2013).
8. Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, III (1988): 143.
 9. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 228. (Italics original)
 10. *Ibid.*, 261.
 11. Plato, *Cratylus* (1926): esp. 428a–440e.
 12. Roman Jakobson, “The Quest for the Essence of Language,” (1966): 21–37.
 13. So especially Books II and III of *On Christian Doctrine*, “Interpretation Required by the Ignorance of Signs” and “Interpretation Required by the Ambiguity of Signs,” respectively. Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine* (1958).
 14. “but really this attractive force of likeness is, as Hermogenes says, a poor thing, and we are compelled to employ in addition to this commonplace expedient, *convention*, to establish the correctness of names.” Plato, 435c, *My Italics*.
 15. Augustine, *On Genesis* (2002): esp. 2.4.
 16. This translation is taken from Friedrich Nietzsche, “On Truth and Lies in an Extramoral Sense,” in *The Portable Nietzsche* (1977): 45. For the full version of this text, however, see *Philosophy and Truth* (1979): 79–91.
 17. Nietzsche’s statement—“The various languages placed side by side show that with words it is never a question of truth, never a question of adequate expression; otherwise, there would not be so many languages” (*Philosophy and Truth*, 82)—again echoes the argument in Plato, 434a–d.
 18. *Philosophy and Truth*, 83.
 19. *Ibid.*, 84.
 20. Friedrich Nietzsche, “On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life” (1997): 84–86, 98.
 21. Against the partisan, national-romantic histories produced by individuals such as Macaulay or Michelet, von Ranke writes: “Wir unsers Orts haben einen anderen Begriff von Geschichte. Nackte Wahrheit ohne allen Schmuck; gründliche Erforschung das Einzelnen: das übrige Gott befohlen; nur kein Erdichten, auch nicht im Kleinsten, nur kein Hirngespinnst.” (“For our part, we have a different concept of history: naked truth without ornamentation; in-depth research into the particular; the rest belongs to God; no elements of fiction, not even in the smallest matter, and no forms of fantasy whatsoever.”) Leopold Von Ranke, *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtsschreiber* (1824), 28.
 22. Nietzsche writes against the “greybeards” (von Ranke was 77 when the work was being composed) with a series of ironic, caustic statements: “And what we see is certainly a star, a gleaming and glorious star interposing itself, the constellation really has been altered—*by science, by the demand that history should be a science.*” The danger, Nietzsche observes, is that “objectivity and justice have nothing to do with one another.” Nietzsche, “On the Uses and Disadvantages,” 77, 91.
 23. Particularly important were von Ranke’s early travels to the national archives at Vienna and Venice. See especially the short work that came out of this research, Leopold von Ranke, *Über die Verschwörung gegen Venedig, im Jahre 1618.* (1831).
 24. Walter Kaufmann, ed., *The Portable Nietzsche* (1977), 458. Later, Nietzsche will write: “*Facta! Yes, Facta ficta!* A historian has to do, not with what actually happened, but only with events supposed to have happened: for only the latter have *produced an effect.*” Nietzsche, *Daybreak: Thoughts on the Prejudices of Morals* (1997), 3. (original italics).
 25. “On the Uses and Disadvantages,” 86.
 26. *Ibid.*, 94. (original italics)

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27. Daniel Breazeale, "Introduction" (1997): xvi.
28. Roland Barthes, "The Discourse of History" (1989): 127–140. For the text in the original French, see "Le discours de l'histoire" (1967).
29. Barthes, 139.
30. Barthes writes, "we can say that historical discourse is a fake performative discourse in which the apparent constative (descriptive) is in fact only the signifier of the speech-act as an act of authority." *Ibid.*, 139.
31. *Ibid.*, 138.
32. *Ibid.*, 139.
33. *Ibid.*, 139.
34. *Ibid.*, 132.
35. For example, the reference to Machiavelli and the "strategic" use of historical discourse. *Ibid.*, 137.
36. For denunciations of "objective, scientific" history equally as biting as Barthes, see Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972): esp. 133–218; and Hayden White, "The Burden of History" (1966): 111–34.
37. Hayden White, *Metahistory* (1973): 3 fn. 4.
38. Gabrielle Spiegel, "The Task of the Historian" (2009): 1–15.
39. John Toews, "Intellectual History After the Linguistic Turn" (1987): 882.
40. Robert Berkhofer, *Beyond the Great Story* (1997): 14.
41. Elizabeth Clark, *History, Theory, Text* (2004): 25–28.
42. Carlo Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and Historical Methods* (1992); Roger Chartier, *On the Edge of the Cliff* (1997).
43. For a sophisticated discussion of the theoretical problems involved in historical reconstruction from the perspective of a biblicist, however, see F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp's "Rethinking Historical Criticism" (1999): 235–271.
44. John H. Hayes and J. Maxwell Miller, eds., *Israelite and Judaeon History* (1977).
45. Jack Sasson, "On Choosing Models for Recreating Israelite Pre-Monarchic History" (1981): 4.
46. *Ibid.*, 4.
47. *Ibid.*, 4.
48. *Ibid.*, 4.
49. On this point, see also Baruch Halpern, *The First Historians* (1988): 16–35.
50. Bernhard Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (2 vols., 1887–1888).
51. Martin Noth, *Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels* (1930); *idem.*, *The History of Israel* (1960): 49.
52. Sasson, 10.
53. Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1990 [1860]).
54. Sasson, 12–14.
55. William F. Albright, "The Conquest of Canaan in Light of Archaeology" (1939): 11–23.
56. Norman Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh* (1979).
57. Sasson, 14.
58. Thomas Thompson, "A Neo-Albrightian School in History and Biblical Scholarship?" (1995): 693. Knauf's nuanced article on historical interpretation also holds fast to a demand for objectivity, though posed through the lens of K. Popper's epistemological reflections. How historical hypotheses can be "tested" like that of scientific experiments remains a troubling question for this proposal, however, as it was with Popper's views on history. Ernst Knauf, "From History to Interpretation" (1991): 26–64.
59. Niels Lemche, "The Development of the Israelite Religion in the Light of Recent Studies on the Early History of Israel" (1991): 103.
60. Lester Grabbe, "Introduction" (1997): 14.

61. Moore, 75–183.
62. For a similar assessment, see Norman Gottwald, “Triumphalist versus Anti-Triumphalist Versions of Early Israel” (1997): 15–42.
63. See especially the discussion of “modern day Rankeans” in Robert Miller II, “Yahweh and His Clio: Critical Theory and the Historical Criticism of the Hebrew Bible” (2005): 152–54.
64. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, III, 100.
65. Ricoeur connects this understanding to an Augustinian notion of representation as a mental image of an absent thing, which Ricoeur defines through the German *sich vorstellen*. In contrast, Ricoeur appeals to the notion of *Vertreten*, “to act in place of” or “substitute for,” (*lieutenant*) another thing. *Ibid.*, 143.
66. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 274–80.
67. *Ibid.*, 277.
68. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, III, 185. My Italics.
69. See Ricoeur’s pointed comments on Barthes and White’s broader oeuvre in *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 248–54, 276–80.
70. Compare White’s earlier analysis of the metaphorical character of the historian’s discourse in “Historical Text as Literary Artifact,” 81–100.
71. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, III, 154.
72. Ricoeur writes, “The paradox consists in the fact there is no other way to do justice to the notion of metaphorical truth than to include the critical incision of the (literal) ‘is not’ within the ontological vehemence of the (metaphorical) ‘is.’” Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor* (1977): 255.
73. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, I, 45.
74. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 238–261.
75. Nietzsche, “On Truth and Lies,” 82, 84.
76. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 278.
77. *Ibid.*, 250.
78. Carlo Ginzburg, “Aristotle and History, Once More,” in *History, Rhetoric, Proof*, 38–53.
79. In the *Gorgias* (435b), Socrates refers to rhetoric as the “deceiving art.”
80. Aristotle, “Rhetoric” (1984):2152.
81. Aristotle, 2157.
82. Ginzburg, “Aristotle and History,” 43–44.
83. Carlo Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (1989): 96–125.
84. Ginzburg vividly portrays that type of “natural” knowledge removed from the “smells, tastes, and sounds” of the “living animal.” Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, 107–09.
85. Carlo Ginzburg, *Threads and Traces* (2012): 24.
86. Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, 97–108.
87. *Ibid.*, 106.
88. *Ibid.*, 97.
89. Ginzburg, *Threads and Traces*, 70.
90. Thomas Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives* (1974): 7. Davies’s adherence to a principle of verification in a “stricter sense” of the term, “where we ‘know’ that something is historical or not” draws near to this perspective as well. Philip Davies, *Memories of Ancient Israel* (2008): 126.
91. Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences* (1981): 193.
92. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 320.
93. Marc Bloch, *The Historian’s Craft* (1953): 79.
94. *Ibid.*, 79.
95. By literary culture, I mean “how people have done things with texts,” a term that necessarily includes both the authors of these texts and the audience for

- whom these texts were written. From a historical standpoint, texts can thus be understood as situated practices of language use influenced by and addressed to a particular time and space, with this understanding emphasizing the social dimension surrounding the creation and reception of a text. This understanding of “literary culture” is particularly indebted to the work of Sheldon Pollock, ed., *Literary Cultures in History* (2003): 1–38; idem., *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men* (2006): 1–29, 482–96.
96. Baruch Halpern, *The First Historians* (1988), 266–78; Thomas Thompson, “Text, Context and Referent in Israelite Historiography,” in *The Fabric of History: Text, Artifact, and Israel’s Past* (1991), 65–92; Berkhofer, *Beyond the Great Story*, 58–75.
 97. On the problem of genre in premodern narratives, see Bert Roest and Hermann Vanstiphout, eds., *Aspects of Genre and Type in Pre-Modern Literary Culture* (1999); and, for the biblical narrative, Marc Brettler, “Method in Application of Biblical Source Material to Historical Writing” (2007): 309–313.
 98. Peter Machinist, “The Voice of the Historian in the Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean World” (2003): 117–137.
 99. Reinhard Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* (2005): 309–321.
 100. Lemche, Davies, and Thompson, for example, all hold out the possibility that certain biblical texts may reflect historical individuals or events from the past, but little hope is expressed in separating these historical elements from what Thompson terms their “fictive contexts.” See Thomas Thompson, *Early History* (1992): 365–66; Niels Lemche, *The Canaanites and Their Land* (1991): 164; Philip Davies, *In Search of “Ancient Israel”* (1992): 35–36.
 101. Thus Lemche writes, “the late literary context makes these sources an unlikely starting point for historical analysis so long as we cannot with any certainty decide which tradition is old and which is not.” Lemche, *The Canaanites and Their Land*, 164. Thompson similarly remarks that these traditions “must be seen as largely irrelevant to critical historical reconstruction because any questions regarding the sources or bases of the successive author’s assumptions and perspective are essentially closed to us.” Thomas Thompson, “Text, Context, and Referent” (1991): 81.
 102. Thomas Thompson, “Defining History and Ethnicity in the Southern Levant” (1997): 187.
 103. See esp. Jacob Burckhardt, *Force and Freedom* (1943): 95–98.
 104. Davies, *In Search of “Ancient Israel,”* 75–112; Niels Lemche, “The Old Testament—A Hellenistic Book?” (1993): 163–93; Thomas Thompson, *Mythic Past* (1999): 254.
 105. Niels Lemche, “On the Problems of Reconstructing Pre-Hellenistic Israelite (Palestinian) History” (2003): 167.
 106. Thompson, *Mythic Past*, 104.
 107. Davies remarks, “Artifacts can mislead too, though never through their own fault: texts can and do mislead through the intentions of their authors.” Philip Davies, “Method and Madness: Some Remarks on Doing History with the Bible” (1995): 702.
 108. Thompson, *Mythic Past*, 9.
 109. Thompson writes, “Historical reconstructions are based on research, not theoretical models . . . History is *Wissenschaft*, not metaphysics.” Thompson, *Early History*, 116.
 110. Thompson, *Historicity*, 7.
 111. Robert Carroll terms biblical writings “‘ideological literature’ or, if you wish, ‘propaganda.’” Thus, Carroll finds the biblical record, as propaganda, to be “*bad or bogus or contaminated history at best.*” Robert Carroll, “Madonna

- of the Silences" (1997): 101. For a similar perspective, see Giovanni Garbini, *Myth and History in the Bible* (2003): 1; Thompson, "Text, Context, and Referent," 85; and Niels Lemche, *Ancient Israel* (1988): 52–53.
112. The understanding of ideology held by these authors, it appears, is one deeply rooted in a certain branch of Marxism that deems all ideology as "distortion," though the concept need not be understood as such. For a strong critique of this position from the field of biblical studies, see especially James Barr, *History and Ideology in the Old Testament* (2000): 69–89; and Marc Brettler, "The Copenhagen School: The Historiographical Issues" (2003): 4–5.
 113. Mario Liverani, "The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire" (1979): 297–317.
 114. E.g. Douglas Green, "I Undertook Great Works" (2010).
 115. See also Grabbe's trenchant critique of the inconsistency behind the interpretation of biblical and non-biblical sources by Thompson in Lester Grabbe, "Hat die Bibel doch Recht? A Review of T.L. Thompson's *The Bible in History*" (2000): 127–28.
 116. Georges Duby provides his oft-cited definition of ideology as "a system (possessing its own logic and structure) of representations (images, myths, ideas or concepts) existing or playing a historical role within a given society." Georges Duby, "Ideologies in Social History" (1985): 152.
 117. Elizabeth Clark, 95–104.
 118. Thus Lemche asks: "is their historical writing 'objective' (the traditional goal of European historical research), or was it utilized to provide a subjective explanation of conditions in the time of the editors themselves?" Lemche, *Ancient Israel*, 52.
 119. Mario Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts" (1973): 178–194.
 120. Thomas Thompson, "Mesha and Questions of Historicity" (2007): 241–260.
 121. Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (1981): 47–130; Robert Kawashima, *Biblical Narrative and the Death of the Rhapsode* (2004): 77–123.
 122. Niels Lemche, "On the Problems of Reconstructing," 150–167.
 123. Thompson, *Mythic Past*, 62–102.
 124. *Ibid.*, 78.
 125. *Ibid.*, 104.
 126. Lemche, "New Perspectives," 42–43. Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel,"* 17.
 127. Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel,"* 25.
 128. *Ibid.*, 18.
 129. White, "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact," (1974).
 130. Lemche, "The Old Testament—A Hellenistic Book?" 182–87. This distinction is also apparent within the separation of an "invented" and a "normal" history within Liverani's *Israel's History and the History of Israel*.
 131. Davies, "Method and Madness," 701.
 132. Suzanne Saïd, "Myth and Historiography," (2007): 76–88.
 133. Thompson, "Text, Context, and Referent," 90.
 134. Thompson, *Early History*, 365.
 135. Avi Hurvitz, "The Quest for 'Ancient Israel' and the Linguistic Evidence of the Hebrew Bible: Some Methodological Observations" (1997): 301–15.
 136. Karel van der Toorn's reflection, for example, on the categories of "transcription," "invention," "compilation," "expansion," "adaptation," and "integration" regarding the production of texts in antiquity provides a much more sophisticated approach to ancient written works than those who would limit the creation of biblical sources solely within the domain of "invention." Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (2007): 109–142.

137. Alongside of van der Toorn's work, see especially David Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (2011); and Seth Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew* (2009): 103–156.
138. Robert Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew* (1976); Avi Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel* (1982); Alternative attempts to characterize Biblical Hebrew as only a literary dialect or *Bildungssprache*, on par with Latin in the medieval period, have won few supporters. For this approach to Biblical Hebrew, see Ernst Knauf, "War 'Biblich-Hebräisch' eine Sprache?" (1990): 11–23; and, for work particular dependent on Knauf's arguments, Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel,"* 102–05.
139. Lemche, "The Old Testament—A Hellenistic Book?" 163–193; Thompson, *Mythic Past*, 235–292; Frederick Cryer, "The Problem of Dating Biblical Hebrew and the Hebrew of Daniel" (1994): 185–198.
140. For a similar approach to Homer, see especially Gregory K. Nagy, *Homeric Responses* (2003) and idem, *Homer's Text and Language* (2004). For a diachronic analysis of the language and references within Mesopotamian historical epic, see, for example, Joan Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkad* (2007): 102–40.
141. Edward Greenstein, "The Formation of the Biblical Narrative Corpus" (1990): 151–78;
142. Lemche, "The Old Testament—A Hellenistic Book?" 163–93.
143. Brettler, "The Copenhagen School," 8.
144. The Clarke Plato Manuscript (MS.E.D. Clarke 39), produced in Constantinople in 895 CE
145. The *codex Memmianus*, dated to ca. 900 CE.
146. This point will form the main theme of the following section on "cultural memory."
147. Susan Sherratt, "Archaeological Contexts" (2005): 119–140; Brettler, "The Copenhagen School," 20 fn. 91.
148. Grabbe, "Hat die Bibel doch Recht?" 128.
149. Moore, 102; and Robert Miller II, 152–59.
150. Thompson, *Early History*, 405.
151. *Ibid.*, 116.
152. Davies, "Method and Madness," 700.
153. Davies writes, "I think there is such a thing as historical knowledge, and, like the natural sciences, it is a function of method." Philip Davies, "Whose History? Whose Israel? Whose Bible? Biblical Histories, Ancient and Modern" (1997): 108. In Davies's more recent work on biblical history, this analogy with the natural sciences has been reversed, with Davies concluding that "Historical knowledge cannot, however, be scientific." Davies, *Memories of Ancient Israel*, 14, 124. Davies's earlier comments are valuable, however, because they are so indicative of a general orientation toward historical knowledge among certain historians of the southern Levant. In response, White's comments are apropos: "the demand for the scientization of history represents only the statement of a preference for a specific modality of historical conceptualization, the grounds of which are either moral or aesthetic, but the epistemological justification of which still remains to be established." White, *Metahistory*, xii.
154. Pollock, "Pretextures of Time" (2007): 379.
155. Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian" (1950): 285–315; Anthony Grafton, *What Was the Past? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (2007); Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past* (2004): 9–25; and Carlo Ginzburg, *History, Rhetoric, Truth* (1999): 54–91.

156. Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (1957).
157. Gerhard von Rad, "Der Anfang der Geschichtsschreibung im Alten Israel" (1944): 1–42.
158. Halpern, *The First Historians*; Marc Brettler, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel* (1995).
159. These distinctions are taken from Momigliano, 285–315.
160. So Grafton's eloquent account of how the development of the footnote coincided with the rise of modern historiography. Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (1997).
161. Mark Leuchter, "The Sociolinguistic and Rhetorical Implications of the Source Citations in Kings" (2010): 119–134.
162. Katherine Stott, *Why Did They Write This Way?* (2008).
163. Yerushalmi, 10.
164. Brettler, *The Creation of History*, 12.
165. The distinction is provided by John van Seters, *In Search of History* (1983): 1–5; and followed by Diana Edelman, "Clio's Dilemma: The Changing Face of History-Writing" (2000): 247–256.
166. Pollock similarly laments the situation among historians of premodern India intent on discovering a genuine genre of "historiography." Pollock writes: "Upon reflection we might find ourselves, as we so often and no doubt inevitably have done, looking vainly in ancient India for a category constructed in modern Europe." Sheldon Pollock, "Mimam?sa and the Problem of History in Traditional India" (1989): 605.
167. Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 194.
168. Here I concur with much of Halpern's sentiments regarding the sophistication and skill with which the biblical authors' constructed their stories about Israel and Judah's past. Whether or not the work of these scribes should be equated with that of the great modern historians ("H(Dtr) takes a partisan view, in the company of Gibbon, Macaulay, Mommsen, Syme, and any outstanding historian." Halpern, *The First Historians*, 234), however, is another question. At most, I would concur with Halpern's more cautious statement that "to read Israel's historiography, we must allow that it stands on the far horizon of the Western tradition." *Ibid.*, 277. At this place on the far end of the horizon, however, the question of epistemology reasserts itself.
169. Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 255–76.
170. *Ibid.*, 4, 270.
171. Or, in Ricoeur's specific appeal to Freudian language on this point, the "Unheimlichkeit." Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 305, 393.
172. The work on memory by biblical scholars has grown immensely in recent years, but for a discussion and bibliography, see Daniel Pioske, "Retracing a Remembered Past: Methodological Remarks on History, Memory, and the Hebrew Bible" (2015): forthcoming.
173. For remarks on this genre, see Max Miller, "The Moabite Stone as Memorial Stela" (1974): 9–18.
174. Perhaps the most famous example from the ancient world stems from the near total erasure of references to the controversial reign of Pharaoh Akhenaten.
175. Joseph Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire I and II" (1961): 178–222.
176. φάρμάκον, as Derrida notes, can however mean both "remedy or poison," a point central to myth's ambivalence about the written word's effect on memory. Jacques Derrida, "Plato's Pharmacy" (1981): 61–171 (esp. 98–118).
177. Hermann Vanstiphout, *Epics of the Sumerian Kings* (2003): 57–96.
178. Pollock, *Literary Cultures in History*, 12–16.

179. On this point, see the following chapter's discussion of the Books of Samuel-Kings.
180. Ian Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society* (1987): 24. On the oral character of those sources drawn on by Herodotus, see also Oswyn Murray, "Herodotus and Oral History" (2007): 16–44.
181. Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory* (2006): 1–31.
182. "Whether personal or collective, memory refers back by definition to the past that continues to be living by virtue of the transmission from generation to generation; this is the source of a resistance of memory to its historiographical treatment." Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 398.
183. Yerushalmi, 94–95; Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 497–98; Alan Megill, *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error* (2007), 58.
184. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 87, 498. Cf. Megill, *Historical Knowledge*, 24–25.
185. Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and Historical Methods*, 106.
186. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 497.
187. Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (1992): 183.
188. On the form of power promulgated through the telling of stories itself, see especially Michel-Roth Trouillot, *Silencing the Past* (1995): esp. 1–30.
189. Pollock, "Pretextures of Time," 377.
190. S.N. Eisenstadt, "Introduction: The Axial Age Breakthroughs—Their Characteristics and Origins" (1986): 1–28.
191. Peter Machinist, "On Self-Consciousness in Mesopotamia" (1986): 202; cf. Piotr Michalowski, "Mesopotamian Vistas on Axial Transformations" (2005): 157–82.
192. Björn Wittrock, "The Meaning of the Axial Age" (2005): 51–86, esp. 66–67.
193. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι: ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἐρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὐτῶ ἢ ἄλλως κῶς ταῦτα ἐγέωετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἐργῶνες τοὺς Ἕλληνας.
194. Machinist, "The Voice of the Historian," 134.
195. For a reflection, see Machinist, "The Voice of the Historian," 135–36.
196. Hayden White, *The Content of the Form* (1987).
197. On the abuses of memory, see especially Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 56–92.
198. Megill, *Historical Knowledge*, 24.
199. See Aristotle's famous claim about memory's connection to a time prior to its recollection in "Of Memory and Recollection," 449 b 15 [Aristotle 1957].
200. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 500.
201. Megill, *Historical Knowledge*, 21.
202. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, III, 120.
203. Bloch, 61.
204. Frederic Brandfon, "The Limits of Evidence" (1987): 30.
205. Alison Wylie, *Thinking from Things* (2002); Bruce Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (2006); and Robert Preucel and Stephen Mrozowski, eds., *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory* (2010).
206. Bloch, 62–63.
207. Susan Sherratt, "Archaeological Contexts," 119–140. For other examples of Sherratt's methodology, see idem., "Feasting in Homeric epic," (2004): 181–217; idem., "With Us But Not of Us" (1996): 87–99; idem., "'Reading the Texts'" (1990): 807–24.
208. Donald Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (1992): 82–93.
209. Rosemary Cramp, "The Hall in *Beowulf* and Archeology" (1993); Leslie Webster, "Archaeology and *Beowulf*" (2002); John Niles, "*Beowulf* and Lejre" (2007).

210. Sherratt writes, "In general . . . archaeology's greatest strengths lie not in furnishing event-or-personality-centered history, but in uncovering wider contexts of an economic, social, cultural and ideological nature." Sherratt, "Archaeological Contexts," 139.
211. Sherratt, "'Reading the Texts,'" 809–810.
212. Sherratt writes, "While these oddities have often been dismissed as examples of the inconsistencies and discrepancies . . . the archaeological record suggest that what *we have in each case is the juxtaposition or superimposition of more than one chronological reflection.*" Sherratt, "'Reading the Texts,'" 810. (My italics)
213. Sherratt, "Archaeological Contexts," 136.
214. On this point, see two recent studies that have reached the same conclusion: Matthew Canepa, "Technologies of Memory in Early Sasanian Iran" (2010): 563–96; and Ömür Harmanşah, *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East* (2013).
215. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 43.
216. Maurice Halbwachs, *La Mémoire Collective* (1968): 146.
217. Cf. Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (1994): esp. pp. 3–17; Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 121.
218. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 204–05.
219. Alcock similarly remarks on the import of Halbwachs's views on social memory: "what is most crucial is Halbwachs' repeated insistence on the physical setting of remembrance. He returns again and again to the way in which memory is localized in objects and in places, not least in the material framework of the past in the present (his *cadre matériel*)." Alcock, 25.
220. Jonker, 53–176.
221. Mieke Prent, "Glories of the Past in the Past: Ritual Activities at Palatial Ruins in Early Iron Age Crete" (2003): 81–103.
222. Catherine Crawford, "Collecting, Defacing, Reinscribing (and Otherwise Performing) Memory in the Ancient World" (2007): 28–29.
223. Mills and Walker, 16.
224. Max Weber, *Economy and Society* (1978): 4.
225. For example, the approach of Robert Coote and Keith Whitelam, *The Emergence of Early Israel in Historical Perspective* (2010); and the reconstruction of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages in Thompson's, *Mythic Past*, 155–199.
226. For example, the point emphasized within the hermeneutical approach employed by J. David Schloen, *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol* (2001): 29, and to which this section is indebted. For a further discussion of this interpretive framework, see especially pp. 29–48 of his text.
227. Irene Winter, "'Seat of Kingship/A Wonder to Behold'" (1993): 27–55.
228. Schloen, 147–50.
229. For a similar study of memory and material objects within the Homeric corpus, see Jonas Grethlein, "Memory and Material Objects in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*" (2008): 27–51.
230. Casey, *Remembering* (1987): 189.
231. Cf. Grethlein, 43.
232. So de Certeau's important observation: "History is entirely shaped by the system within which it is developed. Today as yesterday, it is determined by the fact of a localized fabrication at such and such a point within this system. Therefore, taking account of the place where it is produced only allows historiographical knowledge to escape from the unawareness of a class that would fail to recognize itself as a class in relations of production, and that would likewise fail to recognize the society in which it is inserted." Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History* (1988): 69.

233. Casey, *Remembering*, 213.
234. Baruch Halpern, "Text and Artifact: Two Monologues?" (1997): 311.
235. Gadamer remarks: "What first seemed simply a barrier, according to the traditional concept of science and method, or a subjective condition of access to historical knowledge, now becomes the center of fundamental inquiry. 'Belonging' is a condition of the original meaning of historical interest not because the choice of theme and inquiry is subject to extrascientific, subjective motivations (then belonging would be no more than a special case of emotional dependence, of the same type as sympathy), but because belonging to traditions belongs just as originally and essentially to the historical finitude of Dasein as does its projectedness toward possibilities of itself. Heidegger was right to insist that what he called 'thrownness' belongs together with projection. Thus there is no understanding or interpretation in which the totality of this existential structure does not function, even if the intention of the knower is simply to read 'what is there' and to discover from his sources 'how it really was.'" Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (2004): 252.
236. de Certeau, 101.
237. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, III, 153.
238. *Ibid.*, 143.

2 David's Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings Commemorating a Davidic Past

I believe that nothing comes of nothing, even in Shakespeare. I wanted to know where he got the matter he was working with and what he did with that matter. And so the broad inquiry that had come to focus more and more sharply on one figure in a single play spread out once again to encompass a dauntingly large field.¹

Unlike the ruins of Amarna, Ugarit, or Nineveh, the remains of Iron Age Jerusalem have produced no temple archive or administrative record that might illuminate the events that once occurred there. For written accounts pertaining to the affairs of David's capital, the historian is thus compelled to look beyond the location itself to those stories preserved about it in the biblical corpus. The most antiquated textual references to David's Jerusalem are contained in the story of David's reign found in 2 Sam 5–1 Kgs 2.² Since the scribes who produced this work wrote anonymously and left behind few intimations of their sources,³ a historical investigation into that Jerusalem portrayed within these chapters on David's kingship must proceed cautiously, being sensitive to the literary techniques employed by these ancient scribes and attentive to the social milieu in which their narratives were composed.

My discussion in what follows will consequently have a twofold focus. In part, this chapter's investigation attempts to draw out and detail particular features of Jerusalem disclosed within the account of David's reign in 2 Sam 5–1 Kgs 2. Because of the intimate relationship between the world projected by a piece of literature and the social-historical circumstances in which it was written,⁴ this literary study of David's Jerusalem is, however, also coupled with a rigorous historical inquiry into that place and society in which these stories came to be written down. Accordingly, in contrast to readings, whether of the romantic or semiotic variety, that view texts as hermetically sealed occasions of "genius" or "language" impervious to an external world of human experience, my analysis here is led by the conviction that the "moment of inscription, on closer analysis, is itself a social moment,"⁵ and that both the historian and literary critic must be mindful of

how a text mirrors and resists sociohistorical influences acting upon it as a historically contingent artifact⁶—particularly in the production of a robust, and perhaps incendiary, ideological work. Put differently, the sophisticated and nuanced readings of ancient texts appealed to by the field of literary theory require equally nuanced and sophisticated historical renderings of the world in which such texts were produced.

To begin, I turn to a consideration of the historical context of which the literary culture responsible for the portrayal of David's Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings was most likely part. In locating these ancient scribes within a particular temporal horizon, an important component of this discussion is an examination of how these ancient writers recounted their community's past by negotiating the sources available to them within a particular place and time. To presage the study that follows, my argument in this chapter is that the images of David's Jerusalem developed in Samuel-Kings are distinct and variegated, offering a composite panorama of the ancient highland settlement that includes both more remote cultural memories of David's capital, as well as images linked to the period in which these stories were first written down.

2.1 DAVID'S JERUSALEM IN 2 SAM 5–1 KGS 2: THE SETTING OF ITS COMPOSITION

In exploring the narrative world of David's Jerusalem depicted in Samuel-Kings, the first question that must be answered is the general time frame in which cultural memories of David's capital were initially drawn upon by an ancient scribal circle and incorporated into a larger written work devoted to Israel and Judah's past.⁷ My interest in this section is therefore those "shadowy paths" that led from the lives of those responsible for the account of David's life in Samuel-Kings to the narrative they helped to create.⁸ In an attempt to illuminate the historical context in which these scribes worked, the following will be guided by the premise, to be borne out through the course of this chapter, that the literary representation of David's Jerusalem was one produced through the aggregation of cultural memories imaginatively rewritten into the broader narrative framework of Samuel-Kings⁹—a text whose use of a vernacular Hebrew language, third person prose discourse, and a narrative preterit¹⁰ provided a rare and ambitious literary portrayal of a past unequaled in the ancient world until the time of Herodotus.¹¹

Regardless of the circumstances and agents that originally gave rise to particular cultural memories about David's Jerusalem, a number of indications point toward the late Iron Age (late 8th–early 6th centuries BCE) as the era in which texts devoted to David's reign were initially incorporated into a larger written work concerned with Israel and Judah's collective past. Grounds for this impression will be grouped into epigraphic and biblical

considerations, followed by an appeal to the material record of late Iron Age Jerusalem.

2.1.1 The Epigraphic Evidence

An exploration of the epigraphic evidence bearing on the time period in which the narrative of Samuel-Kings came to be formed has a distinct advantage, historically speaking, over attempts to situate these biblical writings within a particular socio-historical context through a reading of the biblical text alone. The reason for this advantage is that ancient Hebrew inscriptions recovered from the southern Levant provide an unedited picture of the vocabulary, syntax, and semantics of a local Hebrew vernacular as it was used in the Iron Age, offering a limited, but more lucid, window into the way in which the Hebrew language was being employed in preexilic Israel and Judah. In contrast to the long history of transmission behind the books of the Hebrew Bible, the value of exploring the epigraphic remains from ancient Israel and Judah, accordingly, is that these texts come to the historian without having been mediated and revised over time by various scribal communities. Thus, whether approached through typological or stratigraphic (archaeological) analysis, the controls available for situating an inscription within a particular historical era are much better defined for epigraphic writings than those texts now found in the Hebrew Bible.

When surveying the Iron Age epigraphic evidence recovered from ancient Israel and Judah, three features of this corpus find particular importance for an understanding of the time frame in which Samuel-Kings first took form. Perhaps most important are those indications that point toward the standardization of a Hebrew script tradition in the southern Levant during the late 9th century BCE. As detailed in a number of important studies by Rollston,¹² what marks the Hebrew epigraphic corpus is its development over time toward greater consistency in its morphology and orthography. That is, whereas early Iron Age linear alphabetic inscriptions employ a diverse array of letter forms and spellings, after the 9th century BCE Hebrew inscriptions become more and more standardized, and do so in a manner that clearly differentiates their script from the neighboring Phoenician, Moabite, Ammonite, and Aramean script traditions that also employed alphabetic writing. With the advent of the late Iron Age, in other words, a “territorial” Hebrew script tradition, for lack of a better term, appears on the horizon.

The most plausible explanation for the impetus behind the sudden regulation of a Hebrew script tradition at this time within the borders of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah is state administrative interest,¹³ in which the bureaucratic and economic exigencies of the era compelled leaders in Samaria and Jerusalem to require that their scribes employ consistent scripts to write out the Hebrew dialect used within their lands. Rollston writes:

because of the nature and consistency of the Old Hebrew epigraphic evidence, it is cogent to posit that there must have been a significant

and powerful mechanism that fostered and sustained education in Old Hebrew writing. In my opinion, the most reasonable position is that “the state” was the primary aegis for scribal education in Iron II Israel.¹⁴

The importance of Rollston’s observations for this study resides principally in the connection made between the standardization of a Hebrew script tradition, scribal education, and political will. That is, what is of interest in the epigraphic record from a political and historical standpoint is that the regulation of a Hebrew script tradition in the late Iron Age—in which Hebrew scribes throughout the southern Levant appear to have been trained to employ similar morphological and orthographic conventions in contrast to scribes in neighboring polities—is suggestive of political interest and intervention in the Hebrew scribal system itself. As with the rise of local vernacular literature in medieval India or Europe, for example, the standardization of a written Hebrew language can be connected to a growing desire on the part of Israel and Judah’s elites to develop common scribal conventions across their kingdoms for political and bureaucratic ends.¹⁵

The second feature of the Hebrew epigraphic corpus that finds importance here descends from the remains of what once bound scrolls together: namely, clay seals.

Of the hundreds of extant seal impressions that stem from the southern Levant’s Iron Age history, a significant difference emerges between the uninscribed, anepigraphic seals from Israel and Judah that date from the 10th–9th centuries BCE and those inscribed seal impressions that can be attributed to a period during and after the 8th century BCE. Sanders observes:

Excavations at Tel Rehov and the City of David have now yielded a mass of around two hundred well-stratified seals and seal impressions from the tenth through late ninth centuries. Yet every excavated seal from the ninth- and tenth-century Levant is uninscribed, and the documents bearing the seals in Jerusalem were probably Phoenician. This evidence stands in sharp contrast to the ever-growing body of inscribed seals and impressions of the eighth through sixth centuries, where Hebrew appears in abundance.¹⁶

The striking contrast underscored by Sanders regarding early and late Iron Age seal impressions is historically meaningful because of the support it lends to the argument that a written Hebrew vernacular was being employed increasingly in the southern Levant with the advent of the 8th century BCE, with the desire to write out one’s name on a personal seal conforming to a more general tendency in southern Levant to utilize the written word for a variety of purposes.



Figure 2.1 Left: Anepigraphic Hebrew Seals (9th Century BCE) Right: Epigraphic Hebrew Seals (8th Century BCE)

This growing use of writing in the region is further supported by the sheer amount and variety of epigraphic writings that can be connected to a late Iron Age provenance.

Whether in the form of exuberant workers celebrating their completion of a complicated subterranean tunnel in Jerusalem (KAI 189), a disheartened agricultural laborer who had been unjustly deprived of his cloak near the fortress of Mešad Hashavyahu (KAI 200), or an aggrieved soldier in Lachish attempting to defend his ability to read (KAI 192), Hebrew inscriptions from the late Iron Age reveal a society in which the written word was no longer primarily wed to king and temple, but was also procured by soldiers, administrators, and other members of Judahite society. When taken together, the epigraphic remains from the period thus provide strong evidence that a local Hebrew vernacular had, by the beginning of the 8th century BCE, been democratized for a number of different, even mundane uses.

The number of epigraphic remains recovered from a particular era is without doubt subject to the vicissitudes of archeological discovery. But

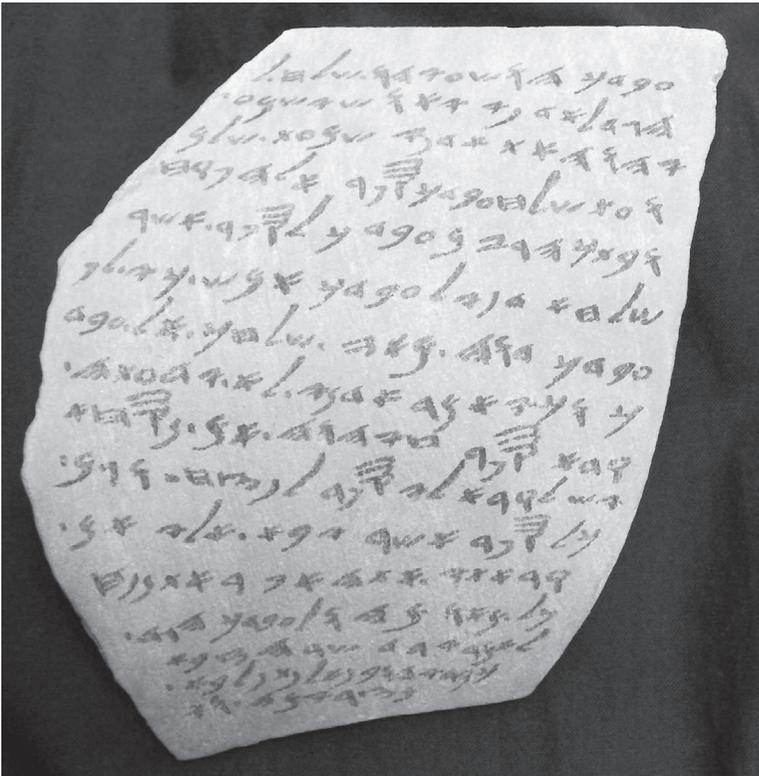


Figure 2.2 Replica of Lachish Letter III (Obverse). Early 6th Century BCE

the quantity of known epigraphic writings from the Iron Age supports the supposition that a written Hebrew vernacular was used with greater frequency in the 8th–early 6th centuries BCE across the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, particularly when the number and type of these epigraphic artifacts are set beside the much smaller number of inscriptions that can be dated from the 11th–9th centuries BCE when figures such as Saul, David, Solomon, and their immediate successors would have ruled. This increase in late Iron Age epigraphic remains is well represented, for example, by the compilation provided by J. Renz and W. Röllig: the authors date sixty-seven extant Hebrew inscriptions to the first half of the 8th century BCE; 145 inscriptions to the last half of the 8th century; 548 are dated to the 7th century, and 347 are located within the first decade of the 6th century BCE alone, before the destruction of Jerusalem.¹⁷

In contrast to Von Rad's influential analysis that located an impressive amount of Hebrew narrative—including the book of Samuel—within the enlightened Jerusalem courts of the 10th century BCE,¹⁸ the epigraphic remains from the southern Levant suggest instead that the development and use of Hebrew prose writing reached its maturity in the late Iron Age. On this understanding, those more limited documents composed in Jerusalem during the 10th–9th centuries BCE may have been written in Phoenician,¹⁹ which was the political lingua franca of the time in the southern Levant.²⁰ Indeed, the few inscriptions that do descend from the southern Levant during the late Iron I/early Iron II period provide important intimations of a proto-Hebrew Canaanite script yet to be standardized by any region-wide power: the idiosyncratic letter sequencing of the Tel Zayit abecedary,²¹ the fluctuating letter stances of the Khirbet Qeiyafa ostrakon,²² and the elongated letter strokes on the Gezer Calendar²³ each attest, in different ways, to a written Canaanite dialect from the 10th–9th centuries BCE not yet refined into the more widely attested forms witnessed in those Hebrew inscriptions that emerged with the advent of the 8th century BCE.

With this epigraphic evidence in view, it can be wagered that large amounts of vernacular Hebrew texts are simply not to be expected from the late Iron I or early Iron IIA periods, marked as they are by only a few short inscriptions that offer vestiges of an inland Canaanite alphabetic script inconsistent in its paleography, and still at least a century away from developing into the standardized Hebrew vernacular witnessed with the beginning of the late Iron Age. Iron I/Iron IIA inhabitants of the southern Levant thus present themselves, epigraphically speaking, as a culture with limited contact with alphabetic texts outside of cultic and court affairs, likely more dependent upon the oral transmission of cultural memories for an understanding of the past than a substantial corpus of written Hebrew texts. While this *argumentum ex silentio* from the epigraphic record cannot preclude the possibility of the composition of a larger body of Hebrew texts before the 8th century BCE—particularly in a region noted for its use of perishable writing materials—current evidence points toward a more limited

production of Hebrew texts in the southern Levant during the Iron I/Iron IIA era. The situation in the southern Levant would correspond well, then, to what is perceived from across the eastern Mediterranean world during the 12th through 10th centuries BCE: a region in which linear alphabetic writing was known, but had not yet been standardized and exploited for narrative, antiquarian purposes.²⁴

Further literary considerations support this perspective. For in searching the epigraphic corpus for a narrative prose tradition that begins to approximate the style and language present in Samuel-Kings, the first texts that do so descend from the 8th century BCE with the Deir Alla (KAI 312) and Siloam Tunnel (KAI 189) inscriptions.

Remarkable about these two inscriptions for this investigation are the formal characteristics they share with the narrative prose tradition of the Hebrew Bible. Absent of any reference to a king or royal patronage, the individuals who composed these inscriptions instead employed the anonymous third person voice so characteristic of the biblical narrative, and so different from the royal “I” utilized most frequently in the writings from the Levant and Mesopotamia. The narrative that introduces the prophetic visions of the Deir Alla text begins, for example, with the declaration: “The misfortunes of the Scroll (*spr*) of Balaam, son of Beor, a divine seer *was he*” (KAI 312, line 1). And, in a similar vein, the Siloam inscription offers the observations of an anonymous narrator detailing an event as if it were transpiring before the reader’s eyes: “and while there were yet three cubits for the breach, a voice [was hea]rd, *each man calling to his co-worker*” (KAI 189, line 2). Indeed, the lines from the Siloam Inscription are of particular importance for this study because they are the first extrabiblical Hebrew text that narrate *res gestae* from the southern Levant’s past.



Figure 2.3 Siloam Inscription. 8th Century BCE

Additional support for the link between the late Iron Age and the development of a Hebrew narrative prose tradition is found in the epigraphic remains recovered from the neighboring polities of Israel and Judah: namely, royal memorial inscriptions.

Though written in vernacular languages other than Hebrew and voiced in the first person of royal authority, these local Levantine royal inscriptions are nevertheless of historical interest because they provide the first



Figure 2.4 The Mesha Stele (Late 9th Century BCE)

attestations of local vernacular languages being used to recount past royal acts in the history of the eastern Mediterranean region. What is particularly significant about these royal inscriptions for this investigation is that, though these steles were recovered from a broad geographical region stretching from modern Turkey south through Syria and into Jordan, these writings first appear in the Levant only in the mid-to-late 9th century BCE.

Following the important studies of Na'aman and Sanders,²⁵ the time frame in which these royal inscriptions emerge in the Levant finds particular importance because these epigraphs appear a generation after the first manifestation of Assyrian royal inscriptions in the region. What this chronology suggests, consequently, is that the Assyrian practice of recounting past royal triumphs on monumental display inscriptions was a motivating force behind the sudden production of similar, local Levantine royal inscriptions in which vernacular prose writing was utilized to claim certain past achievements.²⁶ Accordingly, those royal display inscriptions placed in the Levant by various Assyrian rulers during and after the 9th century BCE likely helped to stimulate the creation of vernacular prose writing in the region,²⁷ as petty rulers in such varied localities as Samal (KAI 24), Hamath (KAI 202), and Moab (KAI 181), among others, sought to emulate the great imperial discourse of the period by having their scribes mirror the content and form of those royal texts promulgated by the Assyrian king. From this perspective, efforts made by local rulers to represent themselves with the dress and iconography of Assyrian kings on their monuments would have been coupled with the imitation of Assyrian royal discourse within those memorial inscriptions that recorded these local rulers' own royal achievements in the vernacular languages of the region.²⁸

The importance of Levantine memorial inscriptions for this reflection on the formation of Samuel-Kings is the additional evidence these royal epigraphs offer for an understanding of the period in which vernacular narrative prose writing first appeared in the eastern Mediterranean region. When coupled with the Hebrew epigraphic remains examined above, both lines of evidence point toward the late 9th–8th century BCE as the formative era in which vernacular prose writing began to be utilized in the Levant to tell stories about the past. This point is not made in order to exclude the possibility of more limited court and cultic texts existing in Jerusalem in the centuries prior to this period, but is rather put forward to contend that the development of Hebrew prose writing, such as that found in the narratives of Samuel-Kings, was more likely to have arisen after the 9th century BCE than in an era before. The standardization of a local Hebrew script tradition across the southern Levant in the late Iron Age, the democratized use of writing at this time, and the prose narration of past events on local Hebrew inscriptions and memorial stele across the Levant all, then, point toward this era as a decisive moment in the creation of Hebrew narrative works that represent a past. In light of the heavy Assyrian involvement in the Levant at precisely this time, an important impetus for the creation of narrative works

about Israel and Judah's past should not, then, be sought in Von Rad's Solomonic Enlightenment, but rather in the shadows of Assyrian imperialism.

2.1.2 The Biblical Evidence

In addition to the epigraphic data, intimations of a late Iron Age provenance for the narrative development of stories pertaining to David's reign also stem from the biblical corpus itself. This is not to suggest that the final form of Samuel–1 Kgs 2 can be attributed to this period, but rather that certain references embedded within this text evoke themes and images that are more consonant with an Iron Age world and worldview than other periods in Israel and Judah's history. Indeed, an area of emerging scholarly consensus is the recognition of the importance of the late Iron Age on the formation of the narrative works now included in the Hebrew Bible, particularly in response to the Neo-Assyrian Empire's political and cultural encroachment in the Levant at this time.²⁹

The link between Neo-Assyrian influence and the development of certain narrative works within the Hebrew Bible is most evident in the striking similarities between particular texts in the Book of Deuteronomy and the wording found in extant vassal treaties known from Esarhaddon's reign in Assyria.³⁰ The relationship between these documents is especially apparent when one reads the loyalty stipulations and treaty curses found in Deut 6, Deut 13, and Deut 28:20–44, for example, in which language of treason (Deut 13:1–18) or curse (Deut 28:27–35) closely mimic the language used within Assyrian vassal treaties preserved from Esarhaddon's reign.³¹ Because treaties were commonly circulated throughout Assyria's vassal kingdoms, the most plausible reason behind the relationship between biblical and Assyrian texts is that copies of Assyrian treaties were also located in Jerusalem, with Jerusalemite scribes copying and memorizing these documents during the period of Assyrian hegemony in the region.³² Deuteronomy's vision of utter loyalty to Yhwh posed in terms that mirror Assyrian royal discourse thus intimate both the dependence on and subversion of Assyrian treaty language known within Judah, and offers a pointed example of how Assyrian concepts and ideals could be internalized and reproduced within texts composed in late Iron Age Judah.³³

The importance of the connection between certain texts in Deuteronomy and Assyrian treaty stipulations for the purposes of this investigation is that these examples offer concrete and compelling evidence that Hebrew texts were being developed in the late Iron Age in response to Assyrian ideology and authority. What these reflexes of Assyrian influence provide, then, is historical warrant for a closer examination of other, less conspicuous examples of Assyrian impact on the formation of additional biblical texts and themes,³⁴ particularly within those narratives surrounding David's rise and reign in 1 Sam 16–1 Kgs 2 at the heart of this chapter's investigation. Perhaps most important in this vein is the very concern with the rise

of the Davidic dynasty within these narratives. For given the particularly strong royal ideology promoted within Assyrian documents and the acute awareness of this ideology among scribes and elites writing in Jerusalem,³⁵ a significant influence on the narrative development of biblical texts devoted to the House of David, and to kingship in Israel and Judah more broadly, was likely the royal discourse of Assyria and their authoritative claims.³⁶ Importantly, this is not to suggest that an earlier, native West Semitic royal ideology was absent from the region, or that Assyrian royal annals,³⁷ for example, correspond to the narrative genre of the Book of Samuel, but only that the robust royal ideology circulated throughout the ancient Near East within Assyrian texts and inscriptions, and the unprecedented power of the Neo-Assyrian empire that matched this rhetoric, would have been an important catalyst for the creation of a narrative work pertaining to the rise of Judah's local dynasty in Jerusalem. The narrative development of stories about the House of David included in the text of Samuel, in this sense, would have been provoked by contact with Assyrian royal ideology in a manner akin to the subversion of Assyrian treaty language in the book of Deuteronomy.³⁸

An argument in favor of this view are the epigraphic considerations related above, in which vernacular prose texts that ape Assyrian ideology and extol the deeds of particular local rulers appear in the Levant for the first time in the mid-to-late 9th century BCE, or at that precise moment when Assyria began to exert its power in the region. The chronological relationship between the appearance of these vernacular texts in the Levant and Assyrian incursion into the Levant is thus suggestive of the possibility that the court of Jerusalem was also influenced by these developments, and that Judahite rulers, like a Bar-Rakib or Mesha to the north and east, also sponsored and encouraged the writing down of stories related to past and present royal activity. The referential claims embedded within these texts would not necessarily descend, then, from the period in which they were written, but this era would rather mark a crucial moment in the narrative crystallization of those sources, oral and written, that pertained to Israel and Judah's more distant past.

Consequently, whether one considers the late Iron Age as a time of profound redactional activity, or a crucial period for the initial narrative development of stories pertaining to the figure of David and the dynasty he founded in Jerusalem,³⁹ what matters for my argument here is that a foundational moment in the formation of these biblical narratives was the period extending from the 8th–7th century BCE when Assyrian influence was at its height in the Levant. To be sure, the literary works that emerged from this era would have been retouched over a long period of time in response to later events that befell Judah and Jerusalem. But an important *terminus ante quem* for the inception of these narratives is the existence of the Judahite monarchy itself. The first reason for this limit, as Carr in particular has noted, is that ancient Near Eastern texts concerned with royal activity did

not arise in antiquity without the sponsorship of the royal courts to which they were beholden. A document consumed with the origin and trappings of kingship in Israel and Judah, in other words, would not, at least in its initial stages, have been “designed to merely reflect on and explain past disasters or other events,”⁴⁰ but rather would have been produced in order to promote and support the royal ideology of those rulers who sanctioned these writings.

A second, related reason for the preexilic setting of these Davidic texts is that the narratives surrounding David's reign in Samuel-Kings are mostly unaffected by and seemingly unaware of both Jerusalem's looming destruction and the dissolution of the Davidic monarchy by the Babylonian Empire. Accordingly, it would be against expectations for the narratives of David's reign found in 1 Sam 16–1 Kgs 2 to have been formed only after the Davidic dynasty had been brought to a humiliating end and its capital destroyed.⁴¹ Indeed, the divine favor exhibited toward David and Jerusalem at numerous junctures in the story of David's reign, from 2 Sam 5:10–12, to 2 Sam 8:14, to the divine promise afforded to the House of David and Jerusalem in 2 Sam 7:16, all serve to legitimize the connection between David and Jerusalem and, more importantly, to establish the divine right of Davidides to continue ruling from this highland center.⁴²

Of course, such language could, and likely was, seized upon by later Persian and Hellenistic writers to bolster the claims of Davidides to rule from Jerusalem once again in their time. Yet it is difficult to perceive why such texts would have been written only after the events of 586 BCE. For the struggle of the Davidides to rule from Jerusalem was certainly not restricted to the exilic and postexilic periods, as a number of texts admit (2 Sam 20:1–22; 1 Kgs 12:16–19; 1 Kgs 15:16–24; 2 Kgs 11:1–3; 2 Kgs 18:13–37), but rather extended back in time to a period when this dynasty first attempted to gain power within the tribal regions of the highlands during the Iron I–II transition. The language of divine justification on behalf of the House of David thus finds substantial meaning and ideological potential during that Iron Age period when actual Davidic rulers strove to accrue and maintain power. Consequently, while texts of divine favor toward the House of David continued to reverberate into a period when Davidic kings no longer ruled in Jerusalem, the most plausible setting for the initial composition of these Davidic stories would have been a time prior to this dynasty's fall when texts explaining the rise of an eternal kingship in Jerusalem could have been used to legitimize those kings that struggled, in the face of Israelite, Aramean, or Assyrian threats, to rule from this capital city.

In sum, the interest in developing an extended narrative work devoted to the origins of the Jerusalemite dynasty within the Books of Samuel and Kings was likely influenced in part by exposure to Assyrian royal discourse and thus composed, in a manner similar to certain texts in the books of Deuteronomy or Isaiah, in response to Assyria's imperial claims. Situating this work in a period when Davidic kings and their court propagandists were

still residing in Jerusalem would then make these narratives fundamentally preexilic in theme and content. The tenuous literary relationship between the Book of Samuel and the Book of Kings prevents a seamless correlation between redactional activity found in the latter to be applied to the formation of the text of Samuel,⁴³ but it is nevertheless noteworthy that a significant amount of editorial activity in Kings appears to have occurred between the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah in the late 8th–7th centuries BCE.⁴⁴ That texts about a royal past were being written and rewritten during this period thus provides further, indirect evidence that those narratives about the rise of kingship in the Book of Samuel were also being written and reshaped during this time. From the standpoint of the question of textualization, it is also significant that at precisely this moment, late Iron Age prophets as diverse as Isaiah (Is 8:1), Jeremiah (Jer 36:2), and Habakkuk (Hab 2:2) are, for the first time in the prophetic corpus, all called upon by Yhwh to *write down* specific components of their visions.

The epigraphic and biblical considerations reviewed here provide two independent lines of evidence for locating the compositional setting of the stories devoted to David's reign in Samuel-Kings within the late Iron Age. The writing down of these Davidic narratives would have participated in a general trend of textualization in the southern Levant, and thus supplemented the use of oral techniques to transmit cultural memories in Judahite society.⁴⁵ Accordingly—as with the scribe Ilimilku writing down instructions for the oral performance of ancient myths in 13th century BCE Ugarit,⁴⁶ Greek actors offering memorized, oral renditions of the written works of the great Greek tragedians in 4th century BCE Athens,⁴⁷ or the monk Notker drawing upon various oral sources in his historical portrayal of the 9th century CE Carolingian dynasty⁴⁸—written documents in societies where literacy was valued, but not widely practiced, would have existed side by side with oral accounts of culturally significant phenomena, and thus provided another, albeit restricted, method by which to communicate meaningful information about the past. The emergence of a Hebrew narrative prose tradition did not then occasion the demise of the oral storyteller and the memories he or she drew upon, but rather engaged and supported these performers while offering another, more permanent medium by which to communicate stories about what had once occurred.⁴⁹

2.2 JERUSALEM AFTER HEZEKIAH: THE LATE IRON AGE (CA. 715–587 BCE)

The Jerusalem of the late Iron Age was no longer the modest, isolated highland capital of the centuries before, untouched, as it was then, by the ambitions of powerful civilizations to its east or west. This Jerusalem was rather a city caught amidst the tempests of two successive empires whose imperial aspirations in the eastern Mediterranean region had the effect of

transforming the small Judahite capital into an important Levantine center at the forefront of international affairs. By turns complying with, rebelling against, and acquiescing to the prevailing powers that approached its gates, Jerusalem's capacity to survive for a century after Assyrian aggression against the city in 701 BCE and remain the southern Levant's unparalleled political and cultural center proved to be a decisive moment in the city's history, and one that, as argued above, allowed for and encouraged the formation of those narratives devoted to David's reign in Samuel-Kings. In light of the importance of this period for both Jerusalem and the literary cultures working within it, the intent here is to consider the historical character of the Judahite capital during the century between the invasions of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar.

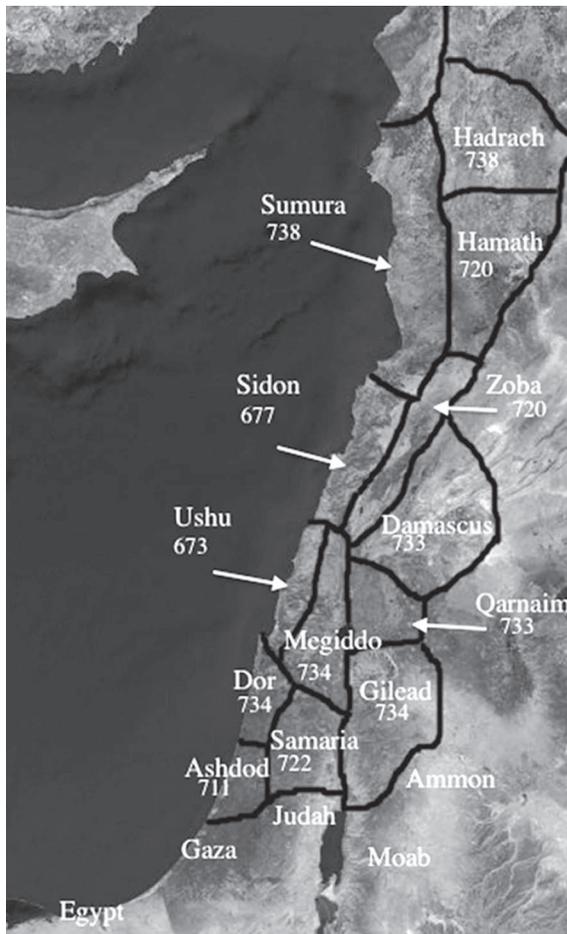


Figure 2.5 Assyrian Conquests and Provinces in Eastern Mediterranean Region

To enter into the last phase of Jerusalem's Iron Age existence is to delve into a political and social climate marked by the foreboding presence of the first great empire of the period: Assyria.

Though local Levantine polities had once been successful at uniting against and preventing the Assyrians from gaining a permanent foothold in the eastern Mediterranean realm in the early 9th century BCE,⁵⁰ by the time of Hezekiah's rule a century later, important Levantine capital cities, such as the more northern Aramean and Phoenician centers of Hamath, Damascus, and Tyre, had been systematically conquered or destroyed by overpowering Assyrian forces.⁵¹ The power vacuum that had once existed in the Levant after the collapse of the Late Bronze Age thus slowly became consumed by Assyria's armies and governing interests by the beginning of the 8th century BCE.

In an event that would have particular ramifications for the fate of Jerusalem, the Assyrians also destroyed the impressive Israelite compound at Samaria located only fifty-five kilometers north of the Judahite capital. Consistent with Assyrian policy at this time, Israelite royalty and other elites from the city were removed to the far ends of Assyria's empire as deportees from southern Babylon and Arabic tribal lands were relocated to the former Israelite capital alongside Assyrian garrisons and political leaders.⁵² Attesting to this conquest, the scribes of Sargon II would later write: "[the Samar]ians . . . carried off as spoil. 50 chariots for my royal force . . . [re]settled and I made it greater than before . . . a tax I imposed upon them as on Assyrians" (COS 2.118).

As with Samaria, Jerusalem was also caught in Assyria's insuppressible expansion south and west toward the Mediterranean coast and beyond the borders of Egypt.⁵³ In a significant development, the Judahite capital was, however, able to avoid the fate of its more northern and wealthy neighbors during the closing decades of the 8th century BCE. Assyria's decision to refrain from assaulting Jerusalem was likely connected to a complex web of factors, including geography and topography, with the hilly terrain of the inland, highland capital making a direct attack on Jerusalem more difficult than its more northern and western neighbors for what would result in much less economic and political gain.⁵⁴ Yet the preservation of Jerusalem and Judah can also be traced to the shrewd political appeals of the Judahite king, Ahaz, for Assyrian protection against an anti-Assyrian coalition of leaders in Damascus and Samaria in the mid-8th century BCE (2 Kgs 16:7–9; COS 2.117C). Wagering on the efficacy of Assyrian might in the region rather than revolt against it, the genesis of Jerusalem's transformation from a small, highland stronghold into a more substantial urban center can be connected in important ways to Ahaz's response to the territorial ambitions of Assyria.⁵⁵ By all accounts, the decision to become a willing, cooperative vassal to Assyrian interests in the Levant spared Jerusalem, at least momentarily, from the Assyrian military aggression that ended the rebellious Iron Age kingdoms of Damascus and Israel in 733 and 722 BCE, respectively.

Why Ahaz's son, Hezekiah, was intent on reversing his father's policy toward Assyria in the closing decades of the 8th century BCE is difficult to determine, though the unexpected death of Sargon II in 705 BCE likely contributed to Hezekiah's decision to make a break from Assyrian vassalhood. What is known is that Hezekiah soon began a program of withholding tributary requirements from Assyria, forging relationships with Assyria's enemies in Egypt and Babylon, and even attacking local leaders who expressed loyalty to the Assyrian Empire (ANET 287–88).⁵⁶ In the most consequential act for this investigation, Hezekiah also initiated a series of building projects in and around Jerusalem that completely transformed the appearance of the highland capital.

The intent of the construction efforts carried out in Jerusalem at this time was to prepare the city for war. In order to equip the capital for an almost certain Assyrian siege, the most significant building project enacted in the Judahite center was the erection of a new, massive city wall around the site. The remains of this immense enclosure were uncovered in excavations carried out within the Jewish Quarter of modern Jerusalem from 1969–1982, and demonstrated decisively that an imposing fortification line had indeed once surrounded the late Iron Age capital. Extending west from the Temple Mount and circling around a new precinct of Jerusalem built on its Western Hill,⁵⁷ the fortification line would have followed the contours of the summit until it ostensibly connected to an older wall protecting the City of David to the east.⁵⁸

The date of the wall's construction was established through parallels drawn between its fill and the pottery assemblage of Lachish Level III, which indicated that the enclosure was built in the 8th century BCE, but at a time no later than 701 BCE when this stratum of Lachish came to an end at the hands of the Assyrians. Biblical references to Hezekiah's intense building activities (2 Kgs 20:20; 2 Chr 32:2–33) offered the most meaningful evidence that the new city wall was likely erected during Hezekiah's reign in the late 8th century BCE, and thus was motivated by Hezekiah's preparation for Assyrian aggression.⁵⁹

In addition to this impressive city wall, a prodigious fortification tower from the same period was also unearthed immediately to the north of the enclosure, further testifying to the monumental nature of Hezekiah's building measures and the massive undertaking employed to protect this new section of the city (presumably the area of Jerusalem named the *Mishneh* in 2 Kgs 22:4).⁶⁰ Though Iron Age remains on the Western Hill, as with all areas of Jerusalem, were heavily impacted by millennia of destruction and settlement activity in the area, additional evidence of this area's occupation during the late Iron II period was borne out through the recovery of a number of domestic structures, particularly in Area F, that included pottery vessels, figurines, and stamp-seal impressions attesting to the late Iron Age community who once inhabited this section of Hezekiah's city.⁶¹

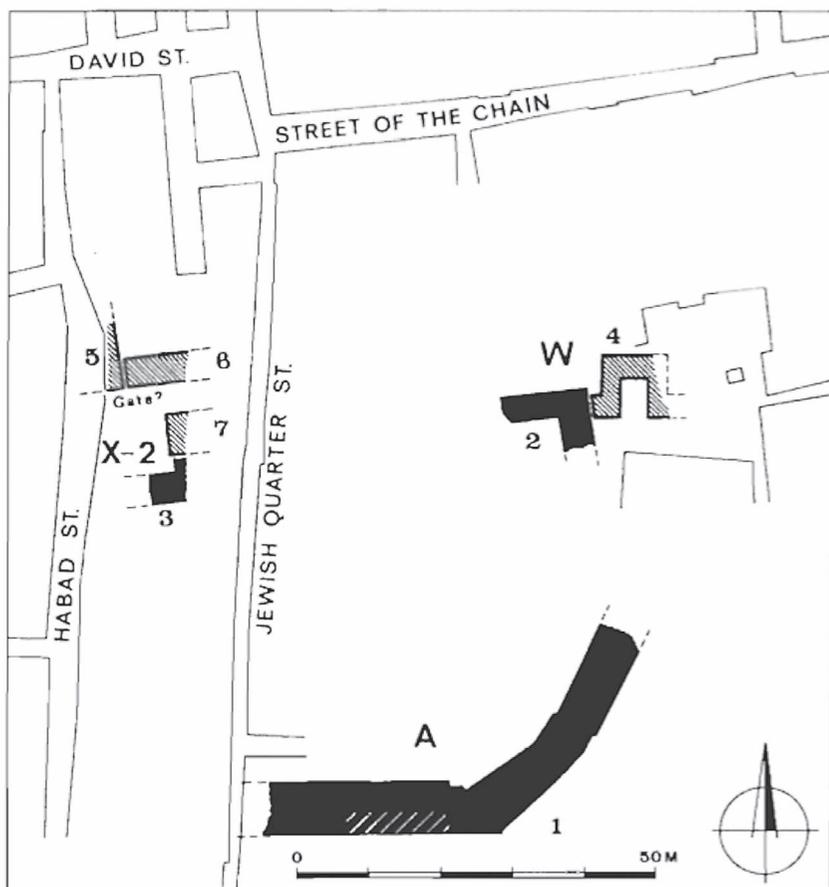


Figure 2.6 Detail of Broad Wall (A) and Fortification Complex (W) from Jewish Quarter

The discovery of the Broad Wall and Iron Age IIC remains in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem brought to an end the much-debated question as to whether the preexilic city of Hezekiah, Manasseh, and Josiah encompassed the Western Hill of the site or if, rather, their Jerusalem remained confined to the area of the Temple Mount and City of David established in the centuries before. The importance of the Jewish Quarter excavations was consequently the decisive evidence it offered regarding the city's expansion in the late Iron Age. Whereas Jerusalem was once a modest, highland settlement occupying ca. twelve hectares in the 9th century BCE, the late Iron Age remains recovered in the Jewish Quarter illustrated that during the course of a few generations, the Judahite capital increased in size fivefold and grew to approximately sixty hectares.⁶² The community who lived in the Jerusalem of the 8th century BCE would have thus experienced



Figure 2.7 Broad Wall Preserved in Jewish Quarter of Modern Jerusalem

an unprecedented moment of growth and urban development that advanced the location's stature from a small, highland capital into one of the largest urban centers in the southern Levant.

Jerusalem's remarkable expansion westward in the 8th century BCE forms the most meaningful historical development of the period, but excavations carried out in and near the City of David also attest to transformations in the southern and eastern sectors of the site as well during this time.⁶³ The famed "Stepped Stone Structure," so critical to historical interpretations of the early 10th-century BCE site, had, for example, become obsolete and unnecessary for the defense of the settlement with the construction of new 8th-century BCE fortifications⁶⁴ on the eastern slope of the City of David.⁶⁴ Built instead on its monumental terraces were new homes of more affluent members of Jerusalemite society—epitomized by the famed "House of Ahiel" and the "House of the Bullae" recovered in Shiloh's Area G—which were indicative of both Jerusalem's greater economic prosperity during this period and the increasing demand for building space within this important area of the city.⁶⁵ Additional domestic structures built into the difficult east slope of Jerusalem in Shiloh's Area E and the impressive drainage channel that flowed through it further testifies to the dense population of this precinct during the late Iron Age and the sophistication of the city's urban engineers at this time.⁶⁶

Situated to the north of these neighborhoods and just south of the Temple Mount along the eastern edge of the city, the area known as the Ophel also became the site of a number of new constructions in the late Iron Age, including two towers and two large public buildings that were likely enclosed by another segment of the city wall in this area of the city.⁶⁷ And,

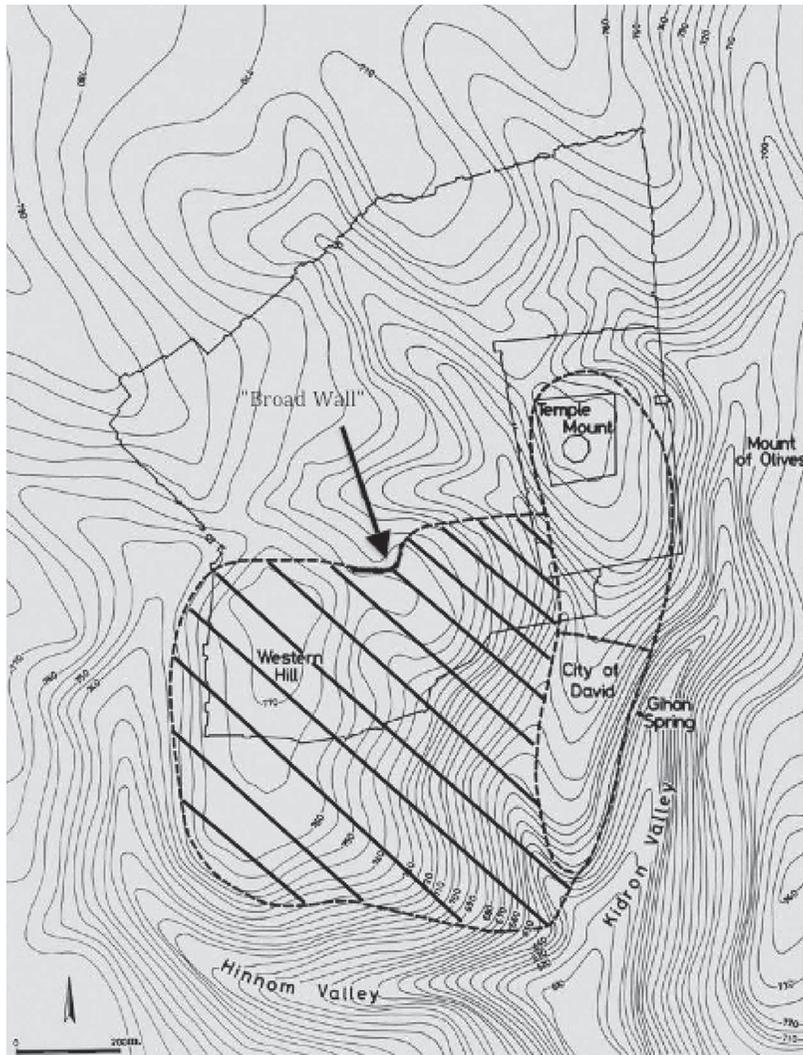


Figure 2.8 Growth of Late Iron Age Jerusalem

as made famous by its underground inscription (KAI 189), a complicated waterworks channel, commonly known as the “Siloam Tunnel,” directed the waters of the Gihon Spring for over half a kilometer southwestward into the Siloam pool at the southern end of the city. The impetus for this arduous undertaking carved beneath Jerusalem has been linked by the majority of its interpreters to Hezekiah’s preparation for an Assyrian siege,⁶⁸ though other theories for its construction and use remain possible, including its function as an irrigation channel to royal gardens that may have mimicked the architecture of Assyrian royal complexes.⁶⁹



Figure 2.9 House of Ahiel and Stepped Stone Structure. City of David, Jerusalem

What emerges from the material remains of late Iron Age Jerusalem is a picture of a city whose numerous public works projects and monumental structures reveal an era of intense building activity and considerable transformation. The impressive character of this Jerusalem comes into view even more when it is set against the images of overall decline that affected the majority of urban areas in the southern Levant after the Assyrians, under Tiglath-Pileser III, enacted a series of campaigns into the region beginning in 738 BCE.⁷⁰ As the important sites of Hazor, Dor, Megiddo, Shechem, and entire regions of Israel were destroyed and abandoned, and the royal and elite inhabitants of Damascus and Samaria were deported to faraway lands in the vast Assyrian Empire, Judah and its local dynasty in Jerusalem emerged in the late 8th century BCE as the most stable polity and capital in the region.⁷¹

Though the physical buildup of Jerusalem during this period is unmistakable, reasons for its growth continue to be disputed. M. Broshi's seminal article on the question of Jerusalem's demographic expansion in the late Iron Age located the cause of Jerusalem's enlargement and subsequent increase in population within two waves of refugees that had entered into the Judahite capital in the late 8th century BCE.⁷² The first wave, Broshi argued, was comprised of individuals who had fled to Jerusalem from the northern kingdom of Israel shortly before and after the destruction of Samaria in order to avoid deportation to other Assyrian lands; the second wave of refugees were those from local Judahite populations, particularly in the Shephalah

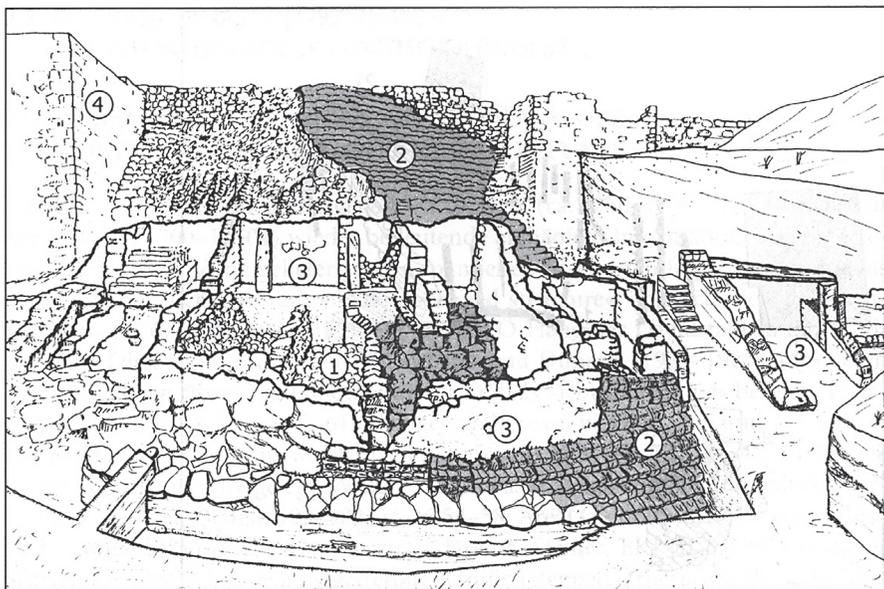


Figure 2.10 House of Ahiel (3) and Stepped Stone Structure (2)

region, who left their war-ravaged homes and moved into the capital city in response to the devastating invasion of Judah by Sennacherib in 701 BCE. On this view, Jerusalem's population growth would have been sudden and unanticipated, with many of Jerusalem's new residents descending from former Israelite lands.

While still prominent within current discussions of late Iron Age Jerusalem, Broshi's attribution of Jerusalem's expansion to two waves of refugees has nevertheless been increasingly critiqued on both archaeological and historical grounds. The first difficulty with Broshi's hypothesis is that a variety of structures unearthed on the Western Hill were found to predate the construction of the Broad Wall, indicating that a neighborhood had developed in this area of the city decades before Hezekiah's new fortification line was developed.⁷³ Though the correlation between Avigad's Stratum 8 and Lachish's Level III provided an important *terminus ante quem* (Lachish's destruction by Sennacherib in 701 BCE) by which to date late Iron Age remains from the Western Hill, forms specific to Lachish III pottery could have nevertheless existed for decades prior to Lachish's destruction (i.e. throughout the mid-to-late 8th century BCE) as the last vestiges of Lachish Level IV ware likely came to an end with the close of the 9th century BCE. Little in the archaeological remains, therefore, can point to the Western Hill being inhabited only after the destruction of the northern kingdom in 722/21 BCE or just prior to Sennacherib's campaign in 701 BCE.⁷⁴ To the contrary, those remains dated to the early 8th century BCE suggest that the Western Hill

was inhabited gradually over the course of the century,⁷⁵ with this area of Jerusalem likely existing originally as an extramural suburb before the fortification of this section of the capital. In the City of David the situation appears to be similar, with Shiloh's Stratum 12A containing a number of new structures also dated to the mid-8th century BCE that came into being before more substantial building activity occurred in the area.⁷⁶

The theory of large waves of refugees abruptly entering into Jerusalem at this time is also suspect because of demographic considerations related to the new precinct on the Western Hill. Though Hezekiah's fortification line enlarged the physical size of Jerusalem markedly in the late 8th century BCE, the question remains as to the population density within this section of the capital.⁷⁷ Geva's observations on the sparse and sporadic character of settlement activity within certain areas of the Western Hill give pause to high population estimates of Jerusalem often based on the belief that this sector was heavily inhabited at century's end, as do Geva's description of agricultural activity and installations being present within particular sectors of the Western Hill at this time.⁷⁸ Geva's cautious estimate of 7,000–8,000 individuals living in Jerusalem in the late 8th century BCE consequently undercuts those who have argued for a population that is double or even triple this number.

In light of these considerations, Jerusalem's transformation over the course of the 8th century BCE appears to be due to a number of disparate factors that extend beyond Broshi's original proposal. Included are these: 1) natural population increase during the late 9th–8th centuries BCE, 2) the construction of a new fortification system that enclosed an extramural neighborhood of Jerusalem on the Western Hill, 3) the advance of rural populations into fortified cities on the eve of Sennacherib's invasion, 4) the arrival of Judahite refugees left in the wake of Sennacherib's campaign in 701 BCE, and 5) a modest number of refugees who may have fled south after the destruction of Samaria. The reasons behind the growth of Jerusalem thus appears more complex and protracted than Broshi's original hypothesis, with Jerusalem expanding steadily during the course of the 8th century BCE and, with Assyrian aggression in the region, continuing to increase in size and population at the century's end.

In Sennacherib's move to quell Hezekiah's rebellion, the Assyrian ruler brought Lachish, Azekah, Beth Shemesh, and many other prominent, Judahite sites to the same tragic end as Samaria and the cities of the northern kingdom.⁷⁹ Jerusalem, as both Sennacherib's annals and the biblical text attest, was nevertheless spared. Why precisely Judah's capital and king avoided the harsh Assyrian measures levied against other rebellious kingdoms and cities has been an object of speculation since Assyrian and Hebrew scribes first composed their texts about these events,⁸⁰ but regardless of the precise reasons for Assyrian withdrawal, Sennacherib, after reinstating Judahite vassalhood and tributary requirements, removed his armies from the outskirts of Jerusalem and directed his forces toward the eastern

and always more vulnerable region of his empire.⁸¹ What remained in the Assyrian aftermath was a region ravaged by war, with the prosperous Judah of the 8th century BCE now reduced to the city of Jerusalem and regions to its immediate north and south.⁸²

Hezekiah's ill-fated rebellion had the result of transforming Judah into a *de facto* city-state, with Jerusalem serving as the only surviving center of significance for Judahite culture and identity. Archaeology is unequipped, from a typological perspective, to differentiate precisely the beginning of the 7th century from the decades before Nebuchadnezzar,⁸³ but remains recovered from the Western Hill that postdate the construction of the Broad Wall indicate that the area remained inhabited until the Babylonian invasion,⁸⁴ with the Broad Wall being replaced, perhaps due to weaknesses in its design, sometime during this century.⁸⁵ Though the intramural population of Jerusalem may have decreased after the events of 701 BCE, when the Assyrian army left the region and individuals were able to vacate the city,⁸⁶ it appears that settlements within Jerusalem's environs, particularly in agricultural enclaves situated around the capital,⁸⁷ increased in number with the relative security of the post-Sennacherib period.⁸⁸ Though some refugees may have trickled out of Jerusalem's protective walls and journeyed to former homes or new habitations, the percentage of Judah's population who now lived in and around the capital city thus increased substantially at the beginning of the 7th century BCE. Whereas prior to Hezekiah's reign, Jerusalem comprised approximately six percent of Judah's total population, survey results from Judah suggest that by the time of Manasseh, the capital accounted for around one quarter of the kingdom's entire populace.⁸⁹ From a demographic perspective, Jerusalem came to dominate Judah as it never had before in the city's history: with no other Judahite settlement expanding beyond seven hectares in the 7th century BCE (and never harboring more than two thousand inhabitants), and with the non-Judahite city of Ekron as the only site in the Shephelah to expand to over twenty hectares,⁹⁰ Jerusalem remained easily the largest (at between fifty and sixty hectares) and most populous city in the southern Levant during this era.⁹¹

Economically, 7th-century BCE Jerusalem remained at the center of an ever more dynamic and efficient international system of commerce shaped by Assyrian interests and tributary requirements.⁹² Tellingly, few vestiges of administrative or large public structures fashioned during this period can be located in remains from the 7th-century strata of the city,⁹³ but the period did witness a sharp increase in the construction of domestic buildings, a number of which, as indicated by the incorporation of fine ashlar masonry, proto-Ionic capitals, and sheer size, were built for more affluent citizens.⁹⁴ The "House of Ahiel"⁹⁵ and "House of the Bullae"⁹⁶ again serve as paradigms of Jerusalem's increasing prosperity at the time, with the former home serving a wealthy Judahite official housed in a neighborhood close to the palace and temple, and the latter containing, along with four cult stands, a substantial archive of scrolls that was destroyed with



Figure 2.11 Ivory Carving of Nubian Tribute Bearer Found at Nimrud (8th Century BCE)

the conflagration of the city by Nebuchadnezzar. The allusions to wealthy homes in the description of Jerusalem's destruction in the Book of Kings likely testify to the presence of these impressive buildings:

Nebuzaradan, captain of the guard who served the king of Babylon, entered into Jerusalem, burned the temple of the Lord and the palace of the king, and all the houses of Jerusalem; moreover *all of the prominent homes* (כל בית גדול) *he burned in fire.* (2 Kings 25:9)

The subtle distinction between regular and prominent or “great” homes by the biblical narrator is one of the few biblical intimations of the increasing affluence enjoyed by a certain portion of Jerusalem's population in the late Iron Age.

Further material remains can be connected to this more affluent segment of Jerusalemite society. Late Iron Age bench tombs commissioned by wealthy individuals and families, for example, testify to the increasing economic stratification of Jerusalem's population through their sophisticated architecture, expensive burial contents, and sheer numbers.⁹⁷ With these intimations of a wealthier class of individuals from Jerusalem comes also late Iron Age remains of ornate boxwood (*buxus sp.*) furniture imported from southern Turkey and northern Syria,⁹⁸ wine jars brought into the capital from Greece and Cyprus, intricately decorated shells from the Red Sea,⁹⁹ fine pottery from Assyria,¹⁰⁰ and ostraca detailing the export of grain and olive oil.¹⁰¹ Such archaeological evidence of prestige items and fine wares attest not only to Jerusalem's increasing prosperity during the 7th century BCE, but also its expanding participation in a pan-Mediterranean trade and commercial network.¹⁰² Indicative of this growing commercial sector of the region are also the vestiges of a rapid standardization of the weight system used throughout Judah: of the provenanced, inscribed limestone weights recovered in the kingdom that are suggestive of the standardization of a more sophisticated and accurate weight system (and perhaps due to the requisite need for Judah to register, more precisely, its tributary goods to Assyria), the vast majority of these weights stem from the 7th century BCE, with three times as many examples recovered from Jerusalem than from any other site in Judah.¹⁰³

Outside of Jerusalem's environs, those other areas of Judah that remained within Jerusalem's control also profited from an expanding economy immersed in the lucrative Arabian trade routes especially valued by Assyria.¹⁰⁴ Increased settlement activity during the 7th century BCE in the marginal areas of southern Judah near these trade routes had the result of introducing more pronounced dry-farming practices in the Beersheba Valley, a region capable of producing an estimated five thousand tons of grain—or enough to feed around one quarter of the kingdom's population at the time.¹⁰⁵ The development and cultivation of these areas of southern Judah were of particular significance because they helped to ameliorate territorial losses in the agricultural heartland of the Shephelah after Sennacherib's invasion.

The notable expansion of older fortifications, such as Tel 'Ira, and the construction of new sites, in the manner of Horvat 'Uza, similarly attest to the importance of the Negev for Jerusalemite leaders during the 7th century BCE,¹⁰⁶ with these bulwarks and their garrisons policing an expanding flow of luxury goods from Arabia through Judah and to those Assyrian-controlled ports in Philistia and Phoenicia.¹⁰⁷ South Arabic inscriptions recovered from strata of late Iron Age Jerusalem reinforce the impression of individuals from the Arabah abiding in the city, underscoring the "cultural ties between Judah and the Red Sea and South Arabia in this period" that were brought into existence by Assyria's economic interest in these regions.¹⁰⁸ Now firmly enmeshed in an Assyrian economic matrix that both offered stability and demanded a



Figure 2.12 The Kingdom of Judah in the 7th Century BCE

more efficient system for increased production of goods and luxury items, the Judahite economy in the 7th century BCE became a more robust and lucrative financial system that had the effect of reshaping Judahite society. So successful were Jerusalem's new economic policies that, by the mid-7th century BCE, Manasseh is placed second, after the king of the prosperous port city of Tyre, in the western vassal lists of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.¹⁰⁹

In stepping back from this 7th-century BCE highland capital, what is meaningful for a study of those literary cultures writing within this Jerusalem is that these scribes would have experienced an unprecedented economic and social transformation induced by the events that unfolded in the late 8th century BCE. The destruction of traditional agrarian networks, the loss of territory to Judah's neighbors after Sennacherib's campaign,¹¹⁰ and state acquisition of agricultural land by Jerusalem for the increased production needed to satisfy tributary requirements¹¹¹ would have transitioned Judah from a patrimonial society centered on kin-based agrarian structures and land holdings to one in which geographical dislocation and loss of family property made the Judahite population increasingly vulnerable to the policy decisions of the Jerusalem ruling elite.¹¹² Halpern notes that material remains from this period hint at this reshaping of Judahite society: cooking vessels and ovens decrease in size, suggesting fewer individuals were participating in family meals, and single-chambered burial tombs increasingly replaced the old practice of multi-chambered ancestral tombs capable of housing generations of a certain patrimonial lineage.¹¹³

The exigency of tributary requirements sent to Assyria would have consequently had dramatic effects on the older, kin-based local economy of

Judah that had been operative throughout most of the Iron Age. With the demand of luxury items and exotic goods by Assyria from its vassals, the small kingdoms under Assyria's control were forced to reshape their economies and commodify large amounts of produce in order to fulfill their vassal obligations. Concerning the Judahite economy under Assyrian hegemony, Byrne remarks:

Production dynamics, which had operated for centuries according to kin-defined, subsistence patronage, now emphasized the express commodification of usable yield from alienated property. Sibbs became tenant or wage-earners on their own land (assuming they were permitted to "sharecrop" for absentee landlords), and the sideline enrichment of elite landlords compounded the slight to aggrieved patrimonial values.¹¹⁴

Where village-based, patrilineal economic arrangements had once governed the development, storage, and use of agricultural produce, the late Iron Age Judah's economy witnessed the rapidly heightened role of Jerusalem in the agricultural affairs of its hinterland as large amounts of wine and oil were necessary to meet tributary stipulations. The villages and small towns of the agricultural heartland of the Shephelah that thrived in the era before Hezekiah's reign consequently disintegrated with the advance of Assyria, being replaced instead with large production centers for wine and olive oil: Ashkelon, Ekron, and Gibeon, to note a few of the most impressive examples, were reconstructed or rebuilt with production infrastructure for grapes and olives on a truly unprecedented scale in the region.¹¹⁵ Pottery forms from the area also confirm this rapid commodification of agricultural resources, with local, small-type wares being replaced during this time with mass-produced, limited variety forms ideal for more efficient transport and distribution of goods.¹¹⁶ The protestations of Micah (2:1–11; 3:1–12) and Isaiah (1:10–31; 10:1–19) regarding the commissary and mercantile spheres of late 8th century BCE Judah, and Hosea and Amos's reactions to the changing economy of Samaria before them, can be read accordingly as a reflection of the increasing demands made upon these petty kingdoms by Assyrian rulers and the policies (and profiteering) made by local leaders in the wake of Assyrian imperial expansion. The elite homes and prestige items located in late Iron Age Jerusalem, as described above, can therefore also be recognized as the markings of an elite stratum of Jerusalemite society that were direct beneficiaries of Assyria's involvement in the southern Levant.

Accordingly, regardless of the historicity of those religious reforms associated with Josiah's reign in the biblical traditions (2 Kgs 22–23//2 Chr 34–35), the centralizing pressures on Judahite society from Assyrian military and economic measures in the southern Levant during the 7th century BCE would have imbued Jerusalem with an authority and influence in the highlands never before witnessed under the Davidides. Ruling from a large, late Iron Age capital that housed the most important, and perhaps exclusive,

mercantile, political, and religious centers in the southern Levant, Josiah would have presided over a bustling highland center that was unchallenged in its influence on the culture and society of Judah. Josiah's annexation of the Samarian Hills and possible acquisition of Bethel¹¹⁷ further attest to Jerusalem's increased strength in the highlands at a time when Assyria's empire began to crumble in the late 7th century BCE.¹¹⁸ Although the assassination of Josiah's father, Amon, hints at internal political tension within the capital, during the decades of Josiah's rule (639–609 BCE) Jerusalem maintained a period of growth and prosperity that, with the enlargement of its kingdom to the north, likely enclosed a galvanized populace who aspired for a more elevated position of influence for their kingdom in the eastern Mediterranean region.¹¹⁹

Within this turbulent and transformative time, a literary culture active in Jerusalem, I have argued, began to compose a narrative work devoted to Jerusalem's dynasty and earlier past. That a written account detailing the twin themes of the rise of the House of David and the divine election of Jerusalem was likely shaped during this period is, with these historical considerations in mind, not surprising: having quadrupled its size and sustained a century of Assyrian intervention without the deposition of its dynasty, Jerusalem emerged in the 7th century BCE as the dominant cultural and religious center in the highlands. In contrast to the influential northern Israelite sites of Dan, Dor, Megiddo, Samaria, and Shechem that were conquered or destroyed during the course of the Iron Age, Jerusalem enclosed an unbroken line of Davidic kings that reached back in time for three centuries. It is not difficult to imagine that for those who experienced this era, the unexpected survival and growth of Jerusalem would have produced a sense that this city was in, some way, the true seat of the divine.

The literary culture writing within this late Iron Age Jerusalem would have had to contend with those striking transformations effected by the presence of Assyria in the region, including changes that were deeply social and ideological. In place of the small, ritual-regal highland center that oversaw an agrarian society of small villages, farms, and pastoralists in the 10th–9th century BCE, the late Iron Age Jerusalem that emerged from these humble origins was a bustling capital that governed a centralized, and more heavily urbanized, society that was economically integrated into the Assyrian Empire. In this sense, the scribes who first framed an initial edition of *Samuel-Kings* would have lived lives mostly unrecognizable to their grandparents', and perhaps even their parents', generation.

In concluding this section, it is illuminating to turn to the two conquest accounts of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar written at the end of the 8th and beginning of the 6th centuries BCE, respectively, for a final, foreign perspective on the changing fortunes of Jerusalem and Judah in the late Iron Age. In the twilight of the 8th century BCE, Sennacherib could boast of his extensive campaign throughout the territory of Judah and his conquest of

many prominent cities and more minor settlements scattered to the west and south of Jerusalem:

As for Hezekiah, the Judean, I besieged forty-six of his fortified walled cities and surrounding smaller towns, which were without number. Using packed-down ramps and applying battering rams, infantry attacks by mines, breeches, and siege machines, I conquered them. (COS 2.119B)

A century later, however, Nebuchadnezzar laconically writes about his expedition to the region in 597 BCE that:

The king of Akkad moved his army into Hatti land and encamped opposite the city of Judah. On the second day of the month of Addaru he seized the city and took the king. (ABC 5)

Nebuchadnezzar's reference to the sole subjugation of "the city of Judah" presents a conspicuous contrast to the earlier description of Sennacherib's invasion against the forty-six walled fortresses and innumerable smaller towns of Hezekiah in the late 8th century BCE. This difference speaks well to the demographic and political contraction of Judah to its capital, and to Jerusalem's regional dominance of the southern Levant in the aftermath of Assyrian aggression. As attested to by these foreign perspectives, Jerusalem, between the invasions of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, arose to become the center of all things Judahite, clothed with new significance for those inhabitants of the highlands who were able to avoid Assyrian deportation and find new life within its walls. This Jerusalem of the late Iron Age was one transformed from a small Levantine capital into a location whose mourners, after its destruction, would remember as "the city that was called the perfection of beauty, the joy of all the earth" (Lam 2:15).

2.3 THE NARRATIVE WORLD OF DAVID'S JERUSALEM: 2 SAM 5-1 KGS 2

Within that turbulent period stretching from the reign of Hezekiah to the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem, certain cultural memories of David's life and reign, I have maintained, were woven into a larger prose narrative account detailing Judah and Israel's monarchical past. The intent of the following is to retrace those images of David's capital present in this literary work. The immediate juxtaposition of this reflection on David's Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings with the historical reconstruction of that late Iron Age Jerusalem above is deliberate, as a central aim of this progression is to consider what influence, if any, the late Iron Age city and its society may have exerted on the portrait of David's Jerusalem rendered within it.

With this purpose in mind, it must be acknowledged at the outset of this study that the description of David's Jerusalem rendered within Samuel-Kings rarely appears in the foreground of this narrative, with the capital city instead often playing an ancillary role in the great drama of David's life. Indeed, of the many chapters devoted to David's reign over Israel and Judah in Samuel-Kings, only six verses deal specifically with the configuration of David's new capital (the conquest of Jerusalem portrayed in 2 Sam 5:6–11). Nevertheless, the place of Jerusalem itself remains the assumed background to the majority of the narratives depicting David's rule over the united lands of Israel and Judah, with a number of these accounts providing subtle intimations of the city's character under David: the ark's entrance into Jerusalem (2 Sam 6), the Bathsheba affair (2 Sam 11), the rape of Tamar (2 Sam 13), or David's unforgiving last charge to Solomon (1 Kings 2:1–9)—to take only a few examples—all have as their backdrop the place of David's highland capital.

The following is consequently oriented toward both the direct and indirect allusions to Jerusalem embedded throughout the story of the years of David's reign so as to better understand the sense of place evoked by these literary references. Given this descriptive aim, I will hold in abeyance considerations surrounding the historical character of these textual references. In doing so, my reading of those passages devoted to David's Jerusalem is motivated instead by the desire to abide within what Ricoeur terms the "world of the text," or that ensemble of references projected by a piece of literature for the reader to enter into and engage.¹²⁰ Peering through the lens of Samuel-Kings and onto the textual landscape of David's Jerusalem, the following will turn to three literary features of the city characterized by what I contend are a series of images and their negatives: the dimensions of the city as royal and modest, the scope of the city's influence as international and local, and the atmosphere of the city as one marked by stability and turmoil.

2.3.1 Dimensions

Of the various techniques available to represent a place through prose form, the most palpable consists in describing a location's tangible features. Conspicuous about those allusions to the physical attributes of David's Jerusalem, however, is that these references do not offer a straightforward and coherent depiction of the royal center. Instead, embedded within the narratives surrounding David's kingship are a series of references to the highland site that oscillate between a portrayal of the location as a humble settlement, unremarkable in size or appearance, and a depiction of Jerusalem as a royal city worthy of a legendary king's greatness.

In turning first to the modest characterization of this Jerusalem, the most salient texts reside in the story of the acquisition of the city by David in 2 Sam 5. Verses 6–9 read:

[6] Then the king and his men advanced to Jerusalem, against the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land. They said¹²¹ to David, "You

will not enter here, but rather the blind and lame will turn you back!"¹²²—saying, “David will not come in here!” [7] But David seized the stronghold of Zion (that is, the City of David) [8] and he said on that day, “Whoever smites a Jebusite, let him strike at the *šinnôr*,¹²³ for David hates the lame and the blind”¹²⁴ (therefore it is said, “the blind and the lame shall not enter the temple”). [9] David resided in the stronghold and named it the City of David, and he built the city¹²⁵ round about from the Millo inwards.

What is immediately striking about this account is what is absent from it. For rather than portraying David's new capital as a formidable royal city (as, for example, those allusions to the Ammonite capital Rabbah besieged by Joab, which is described as a “royal city” [עיר המלוכה] in 2 Sam 12:26) or as an opulent highland center (a perspective of the site known and used freely in the account of Solomon's Jerusalem in 1 Kgs 6–7, 10), the scribes behind this text remain unusually reserved in their description of the site: David occupies the stronghold at Jerusalem, renames this keep the “City of David,” and builds only inside it.¹²⁶ The taunting of the Jebusites in this story produces a sense of the site as invulnerable, yet as Halpern in particular notes, despite having the semantic capacity to describe Jerusalem as a fortified city ([עיר מבצר],[מבצר], [עיר בצרה]) and even using this designation in 2 Sam 20:6 to describe a location other than Jerusalem, in the account of David's acquisition of the site the writers of this pericope do not employ any of these terms: the Jerusalem overtaken is simply that of a “stronghold” (מצודה).¹²⁷ What is more, the faint details that are provided of the capture of the city—namely, the reference to the taunts of the blind and the lame—are just as likely to have been motivated by the proverb itself than such details originating from some historical past.

Remarkable about this brief account, then, is that those scribes responsible for it did not follow common ideological conventions in the region by aggrandizing David's taking of Jerusalem by depicting an imposing city overcome by a ruler's efforts, or by describing impressive building projects enacted once a ruler inhabited the new site.¹²⁸ Instead, such building activity is attributed to Solomon's reign in 1 Kgs 3:1, and then once again in 1 Kgs 9:15 and 11:27. David's building measures in 2 Sam 5, on the other hand, receive comparatively short shrift, with little detail given over to the exact character of the settlement or those new structures erected in Jerusalem. Unlike the large, royal city that comes into view in the Chronicler's account of David's reign (1 Chr 11–29), David's Jerusalem in 2 Sam 5:6–9 is thus distinct for its modest size and its more limited function as a place best used for “a band of warriors [that] could loot, terrorize, and dominate the surrounding countryside.”¹²⁹

Vestiges of this more humble Jerusalem continue to dot the story of David's reign. In 2 Sam 5:17, David is said to have retreated into his stronghold fortress (מִצְדָּה) due to a Philistine assault on the region immediately after David's acquisition of Jerusalem. This story, widely considered to be chronologically out of place in the sequence of David's life and only ambiguously connected to Jerusalem,¹³⁰ is nevertheless appended by the storyteller to the takeover of the "stronghold of Zion," thereby providing an explicit narrative connection between this stronghold and the one just conquered by David ten verses earlier. From the perspective of this narrative, the reference to the stronghold in 2 Sam 5:17 thus further corroborates the picture of Jerusalem provided in the earlier account of the conquest of the city: in the face of the Philistine advance, David does not build walls or refortify the settlement, but descends into his stronghold in order to bide time and gather a force large enough to meet his enemy to the west in the Valley of Rephaim.

Another significant allusion to the modest dimensions of Jerusalem appears in 2 Sam 6 with the description of the ark's entrance into David's capital. The most pertinent verses for an understanding of this Jerusalem stem from vv. 17–19:

¹⁷They brought in the ark of Yhwh and set it up in its place, in the tent David had pitched for it. And David offered up burnt offerings and whole offerings before Yhwh. ¹⁸When David had finished offering up the burnt and whole offerings, he blessed the people by the name of Yahweh Sabaoth ¹⁹and handed out to all the people, to all the multitude of Israel, to both men and women: one ring of bread, one *'ešpār*,¹³¹ and one date cake. And all the people returned to their homes.

The description of the ark's entrance into Jerusalem is a mostly jubilant event, with the initial dismay over a priest's death overcome with divine signs of promise and the celebratory performance of the priest-king leading the ark into his capital (2 Sam 6:8–9; 12; 14–15). The theme of this narrative is undoubtedly one of hope and blessing: David, having established his center in the highlands and defeated his most pressing enemy to the west in the preceding story, now transfers the symbol of Yhwh's power and presence from its former abode in Kiriath-jearim (now termed Baalah-judah) to Jerusalem. The narrator's emphasis on the number of participants who partake in this celebration and receive gifts from the king conjures up images of David the provider, and portrays Jerusalem as a site capable of hosting "all the multitude of Israel" (v. 18).

Yet precisely because of its celebratory setting, the scene of the ark's entrance into David's Jerusalem evinces how austere the dimensions of this settlement are when juxtaposed next to other stories of royal ceremony in ancient Israel, such as the ark's placement into the new temple built by Solomon. Within this Solomonic narrative, the storyteller relates how Solomon's festival transpired over the course of fourteen days, consumed 22,000 cattle

and 120,000 sheep (earlier the figures were so large as to be impossible to count), and offered up such a bounty of burnt offerings that the sacrifices had to be relocated from an altar that was too small to contain the abundance (1 Kgs 8). The scribes of Ashurnasirpal II similarly depict the Assyrian king's banquet in his new capital with extraordinary flair:

Altogether 69,574 (including) those summoned from all lands and the people of Kalhu—for ten days I gave them food, I gave them drink, I had them bathed, I had them anointed. (Thus) did I honor them (and) send them back to their lands in peace and joy. (ANET 558–560).

David's celebration in 2 Sam 6, by contrast, is given no time frame, and while animals are sacrificed, their numbers are not provided—a glaring absence in numerical figures conventionally seized upon by ancient writers, as witnessed above, to exalt a ruler's power. The portion of food shared with the crowd upon the ark's entrance into Jerusalem, furthermore, is at best economical: *one* portion of bread, *one* raisin cake, and *one* mysterious item that is most likely not meat. The threefold use of the numeral one (אחד) by the narrator to describe these gifts permits no ambiguity: though extended to all participants, the portion received by the gathering is of a very limited amount whose singular nature colors the joyful occasion with a rather parsimonious hue. The Jerusalem depicted here is certainly not the abundant center of Solomon's lavish city, and when David brings the ark into Jerusalem, it does not enter a temple constructed with sumptuous decorations and architecture. Instead, the war palladium is placed in a modest tent of which no description is provided and whose location in Jerusalem is never specified (2 Sam 6:17).

In contrast to the humble Jerusalem portrayed in these scenes, other allusions to the dimensions of the city intimate a narrative world of a more regal variety. Already in 2 Sam 5, a short notice appears after the conquest of Jerusalem stating that Hiram of Tyre had sent a delegation of craftsmen with coveted cedar from the Lebanon region to build a house for David (2 Sam 5:11). According to this notice, the palace would have been most likely built on a Phoenician model since its builders were Phoenician stonemasons (2 Sam 5:11b) who, later in the Book of Kings, would also contribute to both Solomon's city and Ahab's Samaria. The response to the building of this palace and of the international connections and prestige this structure displays is apposite: “*Then* David understood that Yhwh had established him as king over Israel” (2 Sam 5:12).

No other explicit architectural details regarding David's palace are indexed in the stories covering his reign. Nevertheless, the palatial residence provides the setting of a number of important scenes within David's life in which glimpses of this royal complex are revealed, including the stories surrounding Bathsheba in 2 Sam 11–12, Absalom's takeover of Jerusalem in 2 Sam 15–16, and the final bedroom scene of 1 Kings 1 that precedes

David's death. A feature of the palace most apparent within these narratives is that David's home houses and entertains a conspicuous number of servants, family, and elites. Instead of returning to his own Jerusalemite house, for example, Uriah loyally sleeps at the entrance to the palace surrounded by "all the servants of the king" (2 Sam 11:9). Alongside dining with Jonathan's remaining heir, Mephibosheth (2 Sam 9:10), and Barzillai's servant, Chimham (2 Sam 19:37–38), David's royal administration (2 Sam 20:23–26) also presumably joined the king's table for meals in the Jerusalem palace much as David did in the past at Saul's home at Gibeah (1 Sam 20:25). And, in David's final days, the royal bedchamber acts as the staging ground for a panoply of prophet, queen, priest, and prince set on determining David's heir to the throne (1 Kings 1).

The busy palace grounds depicted in these narratives also appear to be of a size and stature perceptible to a wide number of Jerusalem residents who, conversely, are also visible to the royal roof situated above them. An infamous indication of this spatial relationship is that David, casually roaming the rooftop of the palace as his army is at war, is able to gaze out at the tops of the homes of the Jerusalem before him and enact a series of events that lead to a warrior's death and a woman's forced incorporation into the royal harem. A tent on the roof of the palace is also the stage for Absalom's display of royal contempt, with the usurper publicly sleeping with the remaining ten concubines of David at the most prominent place in which such ignominy could be witnessed by "the eyes of all Israel" (2 Sam 16:20). Uriah's frequent rejection of David's request that the warrior "go down" to his house (2 Sam 11:8, 10, 13) also insinuates that the location of the palace was at a more elevated and royal location than the homes of even David's mighty men (2 Sam 23:39). And, when Pharaoh's daughter comes to live with Solomon before the completion of his new palace on the temple mount, the royal residence of David once again comes into view, even if it is soon to be replaced (1 Kings 3:1).¹³²

More subtle references to the size and affluence of the capital also appear in the stories of Absalom's revolt and Adonijah's premature coronation to the throne. Both ambitious princes are said to have acquired a large military escort to accompany them in Jerusalem and, more interestingly, both princes are described as having a personal chariot stationed in the capital (2 Sam 15:1; 1 Kings 1), though earlier David had been so unsettled by the use of chariots that he had his enemy's horses hamstring rather than employing them in his own army (2 Sam 8:4). The stories of Absalom's self-promotion also provide glimpses of architecture and judicial procedure at Jerusalem. In 2 Sam 15, for example, Absalom is said to have situated himself by the city gate located on the main road leading into Jerusalem, thus insinuating that Jerusalem was a fortified city at this time (2 Sam 15:1–6), and later, Jerusalem is of such a size that twelve thousand of Absalom's soldiers are able to enter the city (2 Sam 17:1). So also David's flight from Absalom offers a further perspective of Jerusalem during this period: the long train of David's

royal retinue trail out through the city past the king, pass by the city's final "outlying house," and cross over the Wadi Kidron to the Mount of Olives. Only later will the storyteller reveal that these mourners and refugees may have observed, in a moment of indignity, a monument set up by Absalom to memorialize himself (2 Sam 18:18).¹³³

Final images of the dimensions of David's royal city emerge with Adonijah and Solomon's rival claims to the throne. The view of the city here is given a geographical focus not unlike that of David's earlier flight from Absalom, though the narrative framework surrounds a different set of characters taking part in a new drama of royal succession. The storyteller reports that Adonijah, in a move unbeknownst to David, had devised a coronation banquet that included the head of the army, a high priest, the most prominent Judahite officials, and all of David's sons other than Solomon at the place of the Zohelth stone situated near the Spring of Rogel (1 Kgs 1:9). This location, situated only a short distance away from Jerusalem according to the narrative, was nevertheless at enough of a remove from the city that its activities, as with David's spies who were once stationed there (2 Sam 17:17), could go unnoticed by Jerusalem's inhabitants. In a sophisticated narrative technique representing two concurrent scenes, the narrator reveals that as the coronation banquet proceeded outside the confines of Jerusalem at the Spring of Rogel, those characters left behind in the city stormed David's bedchambers in quick succession in order to use the symbolic resources of the royal capital to promote their own choice for king. Supported by the elderly David, Solomon mounts the king's royal mule and slowly rides down through the city to the Gihon Spring (1 Kgs 1:38) whose direct proximity to the city would have made it perceptible to those abiding within Jerusalem.

The description of Jerusalem in this tale serves a dramatic point. While Adonijah's supporters removed themselves from the city and its power structures, Solomon's supporters acted quickly to take advantage of the city's symbolic resources. Indeed, the primary characters backing Solomon's coronation are, from all narrative indications, native Jerusalemites acting within their native city to anoint a prince born in Jerusalem over against a prince born in the older Judahite tribal center of Hebron.¹³⁴ The attempt to utilize the place of Jerusalem and marshal its symbolic resources in support of Solomon is successful: the crown prince is anointed with oil taken from the tent of the ark located in the city, led back from the Gihon on the royal mule through Jerusalem's streets, situated in the throne room of the palace, and during these moments is followed by a joyous and raucous Jerusalemite crowd whose revelry causes such a noise that it "split apart the earth with its sound" (1 Kgs 1:40). Such is the power of this royal display within Jerusalem that those feasting in the distance immediately realize that their designs and lives have become forfeit, though the number and influence of Adonijah's supporters is at least equal to, and in many respects more impressive than, Solomon's. The royal dimensions of David's

capital however—its ark, royal retinue, palace, throne, and public—could not be overcome.

2.3.2 Influence

The intimate connection between the size and features of a site and the power it conveys to those who encounter it suggests that the descriptions of Jerusalem's influence in 2 Sam 5–1 Kgs 2 would also equivocate between greatness and decay. Indeed, what the reader finds in these narratives is a Jerusalem that has the jurisdiction to take a national census on an impressive empire stretching from the southern Negeb, north to the Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon, and east to the Euphrates, and, at the same moment, is also a fractured capital housing a king unable to foresee or forestall an assault on Jerusalem led by his son and the king's own tribal kinsmen. In a manner similar to the previous section's approach to the physical dimensions of Jerusalem, the intent here is to delineate these different perspectives of Jerusalem's influence under David.

An initial indication of Jerusalem's international stature appears in Samuel-Kings with Hiram of Tyre's decision, described above, to send an envoy to the new capital immediately after David's acquisition of the stronghold. With this short, one-verse notice concerning the building of David's palace, the storyteller promptly distinguishes Jerusalem from all the former sites of significance in Israel's entire pre-Davidic history: neither Abimelech's Shechem (Judges 9–10), Eli's Shiloh (1 Sam 1–4), Samuel's Ramah (1 Sam 7), Saul's Gibeah (1 Sam 10–11), nor even David's Hebron (2 Sam 2) ever receive officials from a region beyond Israel and Judah, particularly in the form of a delegation sent as a diplomatic gesture between two rulers of equal stature. Jerusalem's newfound stature is not lost on David. Immediately following the construction of his Phoenician palace, the king comes to realize, the omniscient storyteller notes, that Yhwh—for the first and last time in the biblical corpus—had exalted a ruler's kingdom

(נשא ממלכתו) [2 Sam: 5:12]).

Emissaries visiting David's Jerusalem from regions outside the borders of Israel do not end with Hiram's builders. In a striking image of the new influence exerted by Jerusalem internationally, King Toi of the far northern city of Hamath, situated well beyond Damascus on the Orontes River, sends his son Joram with gifts of gold, silver, and bronze in a display of gratitude (and perhaps tribute) for David's defeat of Toi's adversary, Hadadezer of Rehob (2 Sam 8:9–10). The gifts received from prince Joram would have found a place in Jerusalem alongside the prized golden bow cases¹³⁵ taken from Hadadezer, and a "great amount" of bronze obtained from the Aramean towns of Betah and Berothai—making Jerusalem's treasury one of international wealth and fame. 2 Sam 8:2 notes further that Jerusalem's renown would have also been promulgated through the erection of two monuments by David: the first, situated on the banks of the Euphrates, is established on

the occasion of David's victories in the Aramean lands to Jerusalem's far northeast (2 Sam 8:3);¹³⁶ the second, located in the "Valley of Salt" somewhere near Edom, is erected after David's subjugation of the land's native inhabitants (2 Sam 8:13).¹³⁷

The final portrayal of Jerusalem's international stature stems from the concluding chapter to 2 Samuel, though its depiction is incorporated into an ominous end to the book. Incited by the wrath of Yhwh, the narrator writes that David decided to undertake a census of his burgeoning kingdom—a move widely considered taboo, and one which Joab attempts to dissuade. More important than the reasons for the census, however, is the final map of David's kingdom provided by the narrator. In starting out from Jerusalem, the highland capital is described as having jurisdiction over a significant swath of the Transjordanian region extending from Moab north to Mt. Hermon, continuing northwestward toward the ports of Phoenicia, descending south along the Mediterranean coast, and reaching its southern limit in the Negeb city of Beersheba. Continuing into Solomon's reign, this picture of an expansive Levantine kingdom ruled from Jerusalem would never again be matched by any other biblical king, Judahite or Israelite.

Despite this grand picture of Jerusalem's authority, the wide breadth and scope of Jerusalem's power is mitigated by stories that find Jerusalem's influence muted, struggling to cope with dissent inside its precincts and just outside its gates. The first such example emerges from David's relationship with the Philistines. Though 2 Sam 8:1 records that David struck the Philistines and "subdued them," and though they are again listed as one of the nations humbled by David in 2 Sam 8:11, a more complex view of Jerusalem's influence over these neighboring peoples to its west is provided by references to the Philistines elsewhere in Samuel. 2 Sam 5:24, for example, observes that David drove the Philistines back from the area of Jerusalem to the region of Gezer, and thus to an area that did not pose an immediate threat to the capital, but one which was nevertheless located only thirty-five kilometers away. David is never again depicted as having dislocated the Philistines further westward toward the coast, and no mention is made of David attacking any of the cities that comprised the core of the Philistine pentapolis (Josh 13:3). Instead, one of these Philistine cities, Gath, curiously provides David with a notable mercenary contingent, so loyal to David that they are depicted as following the king out of Jerusalem during Absalom's revolt (2 Sam 15:18–22). This loyalty may have been predicated on David's past life as a mercenary figure for the Philistine king of Gath (1 Sam 27–29) and David's own rule of a former Philistine city, Ziklag (1 Sam 27). The narrative depiction of Jerusalem's relationship with the Philistines is accordingly ambiguous, and when David finally subdues his neighbors to the west, the only boundary the narrator provides (2 Sam 5:24) is that established already at one time by Saul (1 Sam 17:52).

The narrative portrayal of Jerusalem's influence under David also appears truncated by local segments of the population. More startling than Absalom's



Figure 2.13 Perspective of David's Sphere of Influence in Samuel-Kings

attempt to usurp his father's throne, which was a common enough event in the ancient Near East,¹³⁸ are those groups and individuals named by the storyteller who side with the prince against the renowned warrior-king. Absalom receives support not only from David's court counselor (Ahitophel) and prominent general (Amasa), but his revolt is also strengthened by powerful segments from David's own tribe, Judah, and significant members of northern Israelites—most notably from that of Saul's tribe, the Benjaminites, whose ancestral land bordered Jerusalem to the north.¹³⁹ Jerusalem's influence in these passages is one of weakness and decline embodied by David's slow and sad evacuation from the city he once conquered: not only

is Jerusalem incapable of preventing rebellion, its strength is so eviscerated that the once-proud stronghold is powerless before Absalom's advancing rebel force. David does not even attempt to defend Jerusalem, though his most battle-tested warriors remain at his side (2 Sam 15).

Geographical references embedded in David's retreat from Jerusalem also illuminate the limited influence Jerusalem was able to exert at this time. Remarkably, 2 Sam 15–18 relates that David did not flee south to the Judahite lands he once wandered as an enemy of the House of Saul, nor does the king move to the lands north of Jerusalem the reader is led to believe Jerusalem controls with its Phoenician connections and subjugation of the Arameans. Instead, the Jerusalemite king retreats northeast across the Jordan River to the site of Ishbaal's former center, Mahanaim, among Gileadite supporters (2 Sam 17:24–28). Remarkably, little of the Cisjordanian highlands appear loyal to David's rule.

Jerusalem's weakness in these tales of rebellion is also vividly portrayed in David's return to the city after the rebellion's suppression. Unsure if he will receive support from any contingent in Israel, David appeals to those Judahite kinsmen who had once betrayed him so that David might be symbolically led back into the capital. The gesture is described as a shrewd political move and one the narrator characterizes as entirely successful (2 Sam 19:14–15). Yet such action—coinciding with the promotion of the rebel Judahite general Amasa (and David's nephew) in place of the former head of David's army, Joab—offers another narrative glimpse into the precarious state of David's situation and the measures David was willing to undertake in order to placate those prominent Judahites who had formerly proclaimed Absalom king in Hebron (2 Sam 15:10). The devastating revolt initiated in southern Judah against one of its own in Jerusalem illustrates well the lack of authority exerted from David's capital, and is a scene only compounded by a second revolt from “all Israel” that breaks out shortly after David's return to power (2 Sam 20:1).

This second rebellion led against Jerusalem by a local Benjaminite leader reinforces the view of a destabilized highland center vulnerable to those tribes and regions to Jerusalem's immediate north. Jerusalem's strained relationship with these groups is epitomized by a slogan the narrator deftly quotes at two critical junctures in the story of the early Jerusalemite monarchy (2 Sam 20:1//1 Kgs 12:16): “We have no portion in David! We have no inheritance in the Son of Jesse! Each man to his tent, O Israel!” Though Sheba's northern rebellion, as with Absalom's southern Judahite one, is ultimately suppressed, the revolt highlights the tension between the Judahite-controlled throne and the more numerous and powerful tribes to Jerusalem's north that will continue to trouble the capital in subsequent generations. The final chapter of David's reign in Jerusalem before Solomon's transition to power concludes with a general sense of unease: Jerusalem has weathered revolts from both its south and north but, like the enfeebled David depicted in 1 Kgs 1–2, its influence and authority has waned.

2.3.3 Atmosphere

The last theme to be taken up here is that of the atmosphere surrounding David's Jerusalem. Though a more nebulous narrative feature of the capital than the dimensions or influence of the site, the atmosphere elicited by the depiction of David's capital in Samuel-Kings nevertheless provides an important sense of the way in which those who brought together its memories and shaped its tales conceived the royal city. Thus, in a manner similar to the way in which the "lofty gates of Troy" hold a tragic significance due to the impending doom decided upon by Zeus at the beginning of Homer's poem (*Iliad* 1.14), or how the status of "Uruk-the-sheepfold" contains a note of infelicity with the grievances levied at Gilgamesh by the city's inhabitants early in the epic,¹⁴⁰ so also is the story of David's Jerusalem marked by certain intimations of the atmosphere that prevailed at the site.

From one perspective, David's Jerusalem is cast as a site of stability for an individual whose previous life often bordered on chaos. The banished refugee who feigns madness in an enemy city (1 Sam 21:12–15) and the bandit who terrorizes nomadic groups in the desert south (1 Sam 30) is offered, in 2 Sam 7, an eternal throne in an eternal city (2 Sam 7:16) by the deity who favored him from his youth (1 Sam 16). In an unstable world of seasonal wars and intratribal skirmishes, the promise of continuity and protection offered to David at Jerusalem in these scenes is an exceptional feature of David's new capital. The text of 2 Sam 7:1 underscores this note of tranquility: "And it happened that the king came to dwell in his house, and Yhwh granted him rest from all his surrounding enemies." Importantly, the rest (נוח) afforded David by Yhwh at his palace in Jerusalem in 2 Sam 7:1 is one also promised to David's Jerusalem again later in the story. Nathan, reciting an oracle to David, states that Yhwh "will give you rest (נוח) from all of your enemies; indeed, Yhwh declares that Yhwh will make a house for you." (2 Sam 7:11b). Having transferred Yhwh's presence into Jerusalem with the entrance of the ark, David's new capital is subsequently portrayed by the narrator as a place of serenity and future blessing for the warrior-king.

This picture of calm and stability within Jerusalem's confines continues to unfold in the portrayal of David's life within the capital. The theme of peace from Jerusalem's enemies is returned to again in the conclusion to 2 Sam 8 with references to David's military victories. Having subdued enemy threats to Jerusalem in every direction, the storyteller concludes the list of David's accomplishments with the observation that David reigned over all Israel and did "justice and righteousness to all his people" (2 Sam 8:15). The just and righteous king appears again in the following chapter with the loyal David extending his favor toward the crippled son of Jonathan, Mephibosheth, who is invited to eat at the king's table in Jerusalem according to the vow David once made to his father. A final note of tranquility is registered in the narrator's tale with the conclusion to 2 Sam 10 and the short notice stating that the Arameans were finally driven to a truce by

David's armies and forced to accept vassalage under Jerusalemite authority (2 Sam 10:19), thereby ending the Aramean threat to the regions of Jerusalem's north. Accordingly, in each of the three chapters devoted to David's life after Nathan's oracle, David's reign, as with his capital, are portrayed as fulfilling the vow Nathan has made: Jerusalem has become the charmed capital of the just and righteous king.

In addition to these themes, David's Jerusalem also appears as a site of divine mercy. In the final tale of those last four chapters of Samuel (2 Sam 21–24) that flash back to various moments of David's life, the king, having ordered a national census, incites the anger of Yhwh who brings a plague down onto David's kingdom. The narrator recounts that after the death of seventy thousand "from Dan to Beersheba," an angel of death advanced toward the outskirts of Jerusalem and halted at a threshing floor just outside the city's precincts in order to receive final divine mandate for the destruction of David's city. At a dramatic moment in the narrative, Yhwh relents from destroying the capital and the angel is turned back:

And the angel of Yhwh stretched out his hand to destroy Jerusalem, but Yhwh relented from the evil and he said to the angel, the one who was destroying so many of the people, "Enough. Now stay your hand." (2 Sam 24:16).

On the verge of utter destruction, what is meaningful about this scene is that Jerusalem is able to withstand even Yhwh's divine anger and David's sin and avoid the devastation that had already taken many of the inhabitants of the kingdom. And, in this moment of vulnerability, the tale offers a depiction of Jerusalem as a site of divine mercy and care, a site whose sacred value is greater than a king's misdeed—a point sensed by the Chronicler in the decision to have David locate the future temple at the very spot where the angel suspended its assault on David's kingdom (1 Chr 22:1).

Remarkably, the same tranquil Jerusalem portrayed in these passages is also present at the beginning to the tale of David and Bathsheba. At this juncture in Samuel, however, the narrator skillfully exploits the city's undisturbed, leisurely atmosphere in order to offer a biting introduction to the story of David's greatest failure. The well-known tale of deceit and murder in 2 Sam 11–12 is punctuated with imagery that upends the "rest" offered David in 2 Sam 7. In this placid Jerusalem, David rests, but the rest depicted is one of moral decay; while his army marches northward, the king arises in the late afternoon from his bed, having slept during the warm afternoon hours at his palatial home (2 Sam 11:2). Casually strolling (וַיִּהְיֶה לָךְ) along his palatial rooftop, David gazes out on the Jerusalemite homes located beneath the royal palace and observes a beautiful woman bathing. Here the spaces of the multistory palace with its regal roof, the homes of Jerusalem, the stillness of dusk, and the tranquility of the royal city converge to produce a dreamy, surreal literary atmosphere in which the king acts with unreflective

indifference. As if situated on a narrative pivot that moves the story of David in an entirely unanticipated direction,¹⁴¹ the peaceful character of Jerusalem suddenly shifts at this moment in the story to an atmosphere of turmoil and loss that engulfs the city until the smoke rises from two rebellions nine chapters later (2 Sam 20). Once Bathsheba is taken and Uriah killed, Jerusalem is recast by the storyteller into a site of unending strife and death for the House of David.

Once set in motion, David is powerless before the onslaught he has unleashed. Whether in the rape of Tamar (2 Sam 13), Absalom's murder of Amnon (2 Sam 14), or Adonijah's banquet (1 Kings 1), the mighty warrior-king is portrayed in these later chapters of Samuel-Kings as an aloof and troubled ruler often ignorant of the disasters brewing within his capital and blind to the calamities befalling his own royal family. When David acts in these narratives, it is the response of a ruler detached from the events transpiring within his city, a king who is reactionary rather than preemptive, and thus all the more pitiable. Gone is the confident ruler who was given knowledge that Yhwh had exalted his kingdom (2 Sam 5:12) and the priest-king who ceremoniously led the ark into his new capital. Instead, Jerusalem is now the site of adultery (2 Sam 11:4–5), conspiracy (2 Sam 11:14–16; 15:1–6), rape (2 Sam 13:14, 16:22), and death (2 Sam 12:19; 1 Kings 2:25, 34, 46). Jerusalem becomes the place where David pardons Amnon's sexual violence (2 Sam 13:21), endures Absalom's (2 Sam 16:22), and only confesses his own when confronted by the parable of a prophet (2 Sam 12:13).

After Bathsheba's pregnancy, the peaceful and blessed portrayal of David's capital becomes remodeled as a location of familial disorder and a divine curse. With the loss of the first child conceived with Bathsheba, the revenge murder of Amnon, and the execution of Absalom by Joab, David responds to the death of his children as a father unable to alter the fate he has helped to shape. The predominant picture of David in this Jerusalem is one of mourning (2 Sam 12:16, 13:31, 37; 15:30). Twice, David is depicted in his palace laying prostrate on the ground aggrieved, overcome with despair before his servants (2 Sam 12:16; 13:31). This image of the ruler is a stunning reversal from the portrayal of the boastful and disdainful king confident that, with his cultic dance into the capital, the divine favor once given to the House of Saul had now been transferred to him (2 Sam 6:21). This dramatic transformation of David's kingship within Jerusalem, the narrator reveals, is one rooted in the curse uttered by the same prophet who once brought tidings of blessedness. Nathan announces:

Now therefore the sword will never, in all perpetuity, turn aside from your house, for you have despised me, and you have taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite to be your wife. Thus says the Lord: I am raising up evil against you from within your house, and I will take your wives

from before your eyes and give them to your friend, and he will sleep with your wives under this very sun. (2 Sam 12:10–11).

The prophetic presaging of Absalom's abasement in this injunction is but a small, if bitter, indication of the larger calamity awaiting David and his line in the future. From the mouth of the same divine medium who offered a vision of an eternal dynasty in Jerusalem is pronounced a curse portending violence and turbulence for David's dynastic house. The narrative play on the notion of stability for the House of David is here adroitly juxtaposed to the previous scene in which Nathan had appeared in 2 Sam 7. Whereas formerly Nathan promises the House of David continuity and rest from violence (2 Sam 7:16), the court prophet now announces the reverse: the House of David will henceforth be forever menaced by the sword, and from this familial line will come not blessing, but evil for David (2 Sam 12:10–11).

The deft rendering of these two prophetic scenes in David's palace overturns the tranquility once promised to David's Jerusalem and presents the city's future as one of turmoil, converting the atmosphere of the capital from one of contentedness to that of intrigue and duress. The final scene of David's life in Jerusalem continues these themes with a scene of treachery. On his deathbed, the elderly David does not, as with the dying Moses (Deut 33), recount blessings, nor does the king show magnanimity by pardoning those who once did him wrong. Instead, David pronounces a final, vindictive death sentence on the grizzled leader of his army (1 Kings 2:6) and on a local Benjaminite he once swore never to harm (2 Sam 19:23, 1 Kings 2:9). The words last spoken by David in this Jerusalem are "with blood" (בדם) and "hell (Sheol)" (שאול) (1 Kgs 2:9).

The malaise expressed within these scenes of a city also remembered as a place of security and blessing forms the final theme explored here, and one that again complicates a consistent and straightforward understanding of David's capital. Pulling at the narrative threads of the dimensions, influence, and atmosphere surrounding David's Jerusalem, the intent of this section has been to illustrate the location's variegated and involved portrait within those stories devoted to David's reign in Samuel-Kings. This discussion of the narrative world of David's Jerusalem has not, then, attempted to resolve the ambiguities created by these disparate perspectives of the city, but rather to set them in bold relief, and thus to see within this portrayal of Jerusalem a carefully crafted narrative dependent on complimentary and competing memories of Jerusalem's Davidic past.

From a historical perspective, what is particularly striking about this story of David's years in Jerusalem is that the scribes behind it resisted an impulse to flatten their description of David's capital toward a sense of the illustrious, or, conversely, toward a portrayal of the site marked only by failure and misfortune. When situated within the literature of the ancient Near East, uncommon about these images of David's Jerusalem, in other words, is precisely the ambiguity present within them. The portrayal of David's

Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings does not, for example, correspond to the depiction of royal cities within Assyrian and West Semitic royal writings.¹⁴² In these texts—from Tiglath Pileser I to Ashurbanipal to Mesha—royal cities are described unequivocally as centers within which rulers forcefully brought about justice and order to spaces that were previously only filled with dilapidation and disorder.¹⁴³ Esarhaddon, to cite but one instance, not only rebuilt the “ruin heap” of Babylon, but his royal annals declare that he made it “larger, higher, and more beautiful” than it ever was before.¹⁴⁴ This binary form of royal discourse, to cite Green’s terminology, was one that permitted little uncertainty regarding those places established and (re)built by a royal figure: where once ruin and chaos prevailed, these royal writings declare that a ruler established a place of strength and enduring stability.¹⁴⁵ Yet counter to this particular form of royal discourse is the ambivalence surrounding David’s Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings, and its indeterminateness about the capital’s greatness or decay under David. The result is a tentative portrait of Jerusalem whose character is, much like that of its king, “a matter of conjecture or even of teasing multiple possibilities.”¹⁴⁶

2.4 NEGOTIATING A REMEMBERED PAST: PLACE, CULTURAL MEMORY, AND THE PORTRAYAL OF DAVID’S JERUSALEM IN SAMUEL-KINGS

The images of David’s Jerusalem traced out above raise the question as to why those ancient stories of David’s highland capital, remembered in Samuel-Kings as the city conquered by the chosen ruler of Yhwh and celebrated as the residence of an eternal dynasty, also drew on and preserved numerous references about misfortunes that befell the location during David’s reign. Why, in other words, were those late Iron Age scribes behind this story not compelled to idealize David’s Jerusalem in the manner of Ashurnasirpal II’s edenic royal center of Kalhu overflowing with canals, gardens, and sumptuous banquets (ANET 558–60). Or, if this Jerusalem was deemed later in Judah’s history as a site of scandal or failure, why was David’s capital not simply erased from the scribal tradition in the manner of Amenophis IV’s (Akhenaten) Akhetaten,¹⁴⁷ or thoroughly minimized like Omri’s Samaria? Why did these scribes not conform the images of David’s Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings into a more one-sided, partisan perspective like so many scribes from the ancient Near East, including the later Chronicler?

The argument of the following is that an important reason behind this particular portrayal of David’s capital was the experience of Jerusalem itself. That is, my contention here is that the encounter with the late Iron Age capital, including both those remains that stretched back centuries in time and those new structures and spaces that now populated it, shaped how Jerusalem’s more remote Davidic past was remembered within Samuel-Kings. Having few older texts available to them, no images of the more ancient

capital to study, and composed generations after eye-witnesses could be questioned, the literary culture responsible for the portrait of David's Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings would have had only their own Jerusalem to turn to as a point of reference for perceiving the location's more remote past. To substantiate this argument, the aim of this chapter's final pages is to draw attention to points of semblance and disconnect that appear between the literary images of David's capital and that Jerusalem within which this story was likely initially composed.

A constructive way to enter into this reflection on the relationship between place and memory is to attend to the archaeological remains of those locations referred to in the stories of David's life and reign. The reason for this interpretive move is that a settlement's material culture can be dated with more precision than those biblical texts that allude to it, thus allowing the historian to assess what era or eras of a site's archaeological remains are being potentially refracted within a particular biblical story. Further support for this comparative approach, however, stems from the recognition that meaningful locations, because of the longevity of their material remains, are often those literary *topoi* around which tales about the past form within a community. It is references to certain places, in other words, that the historian would expect to find embedded within the cultural memories preserved in ancient texts, and it is the material remains of ancient locations that are still accessible, in some sense, to the historian today.

A parade example of this methodology would be the ancient Philistine site of Gath. In the Davidic stories Gath is depicted as a prominent participant in the drama of David's life, whether in its role as the major border city between Philistia and Judah and a limit on Jerusalemite influence in the Shephelah (2 Sam 5:24), as the site to which David flees Saul (1 Sam 21:10), or the native town of an important component of David's personal fighting force (2 Sam 15:18). Yet striking about Gath's archaeological remains is that the monumental, forty-to-fifty-hectare Philistine city of the late Iron I and Iron IIA periods was destroyed in the 9th century BCE by Hazael of Damascus, nearly a hundred years before Hezekiah took the throne in Jerusalem.¹⁴⁸ Though a much smaller 8th-century BCE settlement appears to have been eventually rebuilt on top of these remains, the location's material culture from this period reveals that this later site passed between Ashdod and Judahite control until finally, after 701 BCE, it was almost entirely abandoned.¹⁴⁹ What this settlement history indicates, consequently, is that a late Iron Age literary culture composing stories about the region's past must have had access to more ancient sources about Gath, as none of these scribes could have known about the site's centrality within Philistine lands and the power it exerted in the region if memories about it did not somehow persist. Indeed, instead of Gath, a much more reasonable and familiar setting for David's activities in Philistine territory would have been the large, late Iron Age cities of Ashkelon or Ekron that would have been well known to this circle of scribes and their audience.¹⁵⁰

Continuing with this theme, it is also significant to read of references to the northern Aramean polity of Geshur within the Davidic narratives, a kingdom that, according to biblical references, was situated to the east of the Sea of Galilee in the southern Golan region.¹⁵¹ Geshur comes to light within the Book of Samuel in reference to David's marriage to a certain Maacah, the daughter of King Talmai of Geshur, in an effort to gain a key ally in his war against Ishbaal (2 Sam 3:3), and it is also to this region that Maacah's son, Absalom, is said to flee after the murder of Amnon (2 Sam 13:38–38; 14:23). Noteworthy about these biblical references for my purposes here is that an impressive Iron Age settlement of the 10th–9th centuries BCE has been identified two kilometers to the east of the Sea of Galilee in the vicinity of where the kingdom of Geshur would have likely been located.¹⁵² The remains of this large, fortified settlement finds importance for this study because, much like Gath, it was conquered in the 9th century BCE and subsumed into Hazael's kingdom.¹⁵³ Regardless of the historical authenticity of the biblical accounts pertaining to David and Absalom's purported activities at the site, what is significant about these allusions to Geshur is that stories about its importance in the early Iron II period endured into a time when no late Iron Age scribe would have had recourse to knowledge of its former status, name, or import.¹⁵⁴

More instances of this “geography of remembrance” can be cited. Remarkable parallels between David's relationship with the leaders of the city of Keilah as described in 1 Sam 23:1–13 and references to sociopolitical circumstances at the site (Qiltu) in the Amarna Letters, for example, speak to a certain antiquity behind those cultural memories surrounding David's bandit career in the liminal spaces between Philistine and Israelite control. As Na'aman details in his careful study of these documents, the account of the raids and martial activities carried out by David's small band of outlaws at Keilah closely resemble the description of Late Bronze Age 'Apiru leaders in the Amarna corpus who also used the site of Keilah/Qiltu as a base of operations (EA 279, 287, 366). The relationship between these two rebel groups is particularly apparent in an anecdote preserved in 1 Sam 23:12, in which the “lords of Keilah,” though ostensibly benefiting from David's protection, were nevertheless quite willing to hand David and his rebels over to Saul's forces, much as 'Apiru bands were both taken in and denounced by local leaders when sought after by Egyptian authorities or their Canaanite vassals in the Amarna period (e.g. EA 366: 11–27).¹⁵⁵ The sociopolitical structures and governing interests represented at Keilah/Qiltu in the biblical and Amarna documents, however, would have changed markedly in the late Iron Age when such peripheral sites were either incorporated into Philistine or Judahite holdings in the Shephelah. In addition, the antiquity of this account is further supported by the description of the southern reaches of Judah where David flees after he learns that the lords of Keilah will betray him to Saul. Though densely settled in the late Iron Age and enclosing a series of significant Judahite fortresses on its important trade routes during

this time,¹⁵⁶ in the Davidic stories this southern region appears as a sparsely occupied and unruly area outside of any political authority, Philistine or Israelite (1 Sam 23–30).¹⁵⁷

Further traditions surrounding David's life also appear early. Sites of conflict between Philistine and Israelite forces in Samuel-Kings often transpire along key 11th–10th century BCE transit routes where Iron I/Iron IIA settlements resided, such as the mustering of Philistine forces in the Yarkon Basin at Aphek (1 Sam 4; 1 Sam 29). Though marked by the presence of Philistine material culture in the 11th–10th centuries BCE, this site, as with the larger Philistine center of Tell Qasile located nearby, nevertheless diminished in size and importance in the late 10th century BCE, and likely fell out of Philistine control after this time.¹⁵⁸ References to Shiloh, so crucial to the narratives surrounding Samuel and early Philistine hostility (1 Sam 4; 1 Sam 14:3), nevertheless disappear during the stories surrounding David, with this textual absence corresponding to the archaeological remains of the site that suggest it was destroyed in the decades just prior to David's kingship.¹⁵⁹ The depiction of Philistine outposts and incursions located well into the highland region, such as at Mt. Gilboa (1 Sam 31), the Rephaim Valley (2 Sam 5:18, 22; 2 Sam 23:13), or Bethlehem (2 Sam 23:13–17), are also much more commensurate with the geo-historical reality of the Iron I/Iron IIA period than the Iron IIB–IIC eras when the more fully developed kingdoms of Israel and Judah held control of these regions.

In continuing with this geographical focus, it is conspicuous that the origins of the great majority of David's mighty men (2 Sam 23:8–39) appear to be similarly rooted in a more remote past. Not only are the homes of these individuals situated by the storyteller among a restricted geographical area primarily within the hills of Judah and Benjamin surrounding Jerusalem, but these warriors are also depicted as having descended from small villages and obscure geographical regions (i.e. Shammah the Hararite or “Mountain Man;” Hiddai from the “Wadis of Ga’ash” [2 Sam 23:11, 30]) that reflect a highland settlement pattern much more authentic for the late Iron I/early Iron IIA period than the larger towns and more densely populated areas in Israel and Judah that are characteristic of the later Iron Age.¹⁶⁰

Turning from what is present in these literary memories of David's life to what is absent, it is significant that important late Iron Age centers, such as Timnah (Tel Batash) and Mizpah (Tell en-Nasbeh), never receive mention in the narratives surrounding David's rise to power.¹⁶¹ Not once do later scribes mistake David retreating to these areas or southward to the confines of Beersheba or Arad during his career as an outlaw, though, in the late Iron Age, archaeological evidence demonstrates that these sites were much more imposing than that of Gath, Adullam, or Bethlehem. In David's retreat from Jerusalem, the king travels eastward to the Transjordanian site of Mahanaim in the tales of Absalom's rebellion and not west toward the large, well-fortified city of Lachish whose size, before Sennacherib's invasion, was second only to Jerusalem in the 8th century BCE. When the southern region

of the Negeb is referred to in David's wanderings as a desperado, this region is patrolled not by Judahite personnel, but is instead menaced by the Amalekites (1 Sam 27; 30), although by the time the Assyrians come to dominate the region in the late Iron Age the name of these desert peoples is replaced in imperial Assyrian records with the designation "Arabs" or "Qedarites."¹⁶²

The point in lifting up such examples is not to demonstrate the historicity of these Davidic stories, but simply to offer instances of where certain references to David's life in Samuel-Kings cohere better with an early Iron Age past than other eras based on those geographic allusions embedded within these accounts. The propensity of cultural memories to cling to certain places and persist over time, I would contend, likely influenced the content of those stories told about David's life by a late Iron Age literary culture who otherwise would not have had access to these more antiquated traditions. Unable to visit and appreciate the stature of Philistine Gath at the height of its power or travel to the unsettled regions of southern Judah that once existed in the 11th–10th centuries BCE, memories connecting David to these places nevertheless endured into the tales written and rewritten by later scribes.

The question this observation raises, then, is what features of David's Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings may also be connected to a more distant past. The inhabitants of a sixty-hectare, well-fortified capital city of the late Iron Age, to cite an important example, lived in a much different Jerusalem than the one portrayed in 2 Sam 5–6. Meaningful about the description of Jerusalem in these chapters is that the site does not include those imposing towers, gates, or expanded settlements to the west and east of the City of David that would have been visible and familiar to a late Iron Age inhabitant of Jerusalem.¹⁶³ Instead, this Jerusalem is depicted as a site guarded only by a solitary citadel and the taunts of its inhabitants. As opposed to the impressive building measures undertaken within Zakkur's Hadrach (KAI 202), Azitiwada's Azitiwadiya (KAI 26) or Solomon's Jerusalem (1 Kgs 9:15; 11:27), David's construction activity in these chapters is conspicuously limited, with this absence being all the more striking in light of the important ideological implications of a ruler's building achievements in the broader ancient Near East.¹⁶⁴ Yet, instead of magnifying David's building measures, the storyteller of this account states tersely that David dwelled in a stronghold already put in place by the settlement's previous inhabitants (2 Sam 5:9a) and that the new ruler revamps the site only from the Millo "inward."¹⁶⁵

Closely related to this observation is the absence of a temple in Jerusalem during David's regency. Of utmost importance for a location's sanctity and prestige in the ancient Near East, the lack of any reference to a temple in Jerusalem during David's reign is quite unexpected, and the attempts to justify this absence in the biblical record attest to the troubling character of this void (2 Sam 7; 1 Chr 22–30). One could raise the possibility that David founded a temple and other more opulent structures within the city only to have these achievements transposed onto Solomon's reign by later partisans,

but the displacement of royal deeds performed by a legendary ruler onto an heir would have been highly unusual and against ideological conventions across the ancient Near East.¹⁶⁶ The best historical argument for the narrator's attribution of the temple's construction to Solomon and not David, consequently, is that the cultural memories attached to the temple in Jerusalem claimed that this was so.

A further indication of the antiquity of certain references to David's Jerusalem within Samuel-Kings are the exegetical glosses and deictics introduced throughout 2 Sam 5:6–9 (“David seized the stronghold of Zion—*that is*, the City of David . . . and David said *on that day* . . . *therefore it is said* ‘the blind and lame.’” [2 Sam 5:7a, 8ab]) for an audience that was likely separated from this story by some time. That is, such editorial glosses were likely employed in order to offer clarity to the events that unfolded within this tale by calling attention to references with which the narrator's audience was already familiar: first, that the site of the stronghold (מצודה) in Jerusalem was located in what was at this time widely known to the audience as the City of David; and second, that the familiar proverb circulating about regarding the prohibition against the lame and the blind descended, in fact, from events related to David's capture of the site. Such narrative asides surrounding the capture of Jerusalem make this account quite distinct from the detailed, exultant royal conquest accounts commissioned by other local rulers or Neo-Assyrian kings in the Iron Age, and suggest that the scribes who wrote down this story in Samuel-Kings were dependent on older, likely oral accounts of Jerusalem's capture that were saturated with those proverbs and archaic terms so common to oral storytelling techniques.¹⁶⁷

Also noteworthy in this representation of David's Jerusalem are the tales of rebellion and misfortune that dominate David's later reign. The portrayal of David's abuse of power and Jerusalem's struggle to maintain authority over the northern and southern highlands can be read as a sophisticated narrative technique that foreshadows both Rehoboam's forfeiture of the Davidic kingdom in 1 Kgs 11 and the series of imperfect Davidic kings who will fall short of the storyteller's expectations for royal behavior (cf. Deut 17:14–20). Nevertheless, as the later Chronicler illustrates well, discomfort with the tension such memories occasioned could be attenuated by excluding them, and there are few documents from the ancient Near East that provide such a candid and extended portrayal of a legendary ruler's struggles to maintain power. It would be a curious phenomenon, then, if these episodes of rebellion were simply fabricated incidents concocted by later scribes, particularly after Assyria's invasion in the southern Levant in the 8th century BCE. For though these stories speak to the difficult tribal politics any highland leader would have had to negotiate in the attempt to maintain authority in the Iron I/early Iron IIA period,¹⁶⁸ the changes wrought by Assyria to highland tribal networks and kin-based socioeconomic relationships would have created a much different set of political obligations and maneuvers for the reigns of Manasseh and Josiah within the *pax assyriaca*. Stories of tribal

rebellion against David's rule in Jerusalem were thus likely retold because these memories were still widely known in the late Iron Age capital, and offered one reason to a later audience as to why their Jerusalem did not govern the Israelite lands of the north.

In addition to these more antiquated memories, the changing landscape and features of a location over time requires the historian to be attentive to how such transformations may have influenced the past recounted about a site. The list of those settlements that received spoil from David's raid against the Amalekites in 1 Sam 30 provides one example of this phenomenon. The allusion to a considerable contingent of camels ridden by the Amalekites in this episode already intimates a later provenance than the early 10th century BCE for the composition of this story, as camels were domesticated in the region for trade and warfare in an era after the 10th century BCE.¹⁶⁹ Yet the identification of those places that receive goods from David's raid (1 Sam 30:26–31) also appear to reflect a period later than the one in which David would have lived. As Na'aman observes, of all the sites on this list that can be identified and which have been excavated, nearly all reach their apex in size and population in the late 8th century BCE, and all are subsequently destroyed by Sennacherib at the century's end.¹⁷⁰ What this settlement history suggests, then, is that at some moment after the 10th century BCE, the scribe behind this story of David's retaliatory attack "selected major sites of his own time in the Judahite territory east of Ziklag" and used the identification of these settlements in an effort to supplement the names of those places, likely lost to time, that received booty from a memorable event in David's early bandit years.¹⁷¹

The effect of the present on conceptions of a Davidic past in Samuel-Kings is also evident in what is missing from these narratives. The most significant void may be the settlement of Khirbet Qeiyafa, a site positioned strategically on the Elah Valley only eleven kilometers east from Gath.¹⁷² Recent excavations have revealed that this location contained the most sophisticated fortification system within the eastern Shephelah and highlands region of the time (including that of Jerusalem and Hebron), and yet, in spite of its crucial location and battlements, this settlement does not appear in any of the stories devoted to David's life—an omission all the more curious given the number of Davidic tales that take place precisely in Khirbet Qeiyafa's near vicinity (e.g. 1 Sam 17; 21; 27). The contemporaneous site of Khirbet ed-Dawwara, located only five kilometers to Jerusalem's northeast and distinguished by an impressive defensive casemate wall quite unusual for its time is also not alluded to within those stories surrounding David's reign in Samuel-Kings,¹⁷³ though its excavator speculates that it may have functioned as a key highland fortress used to prevent Philistine incursions into the region during this era.¹⁷⁴

Other than their substantial and relatively unique late Iron I/IIA fortifications, what is significant about these two settlements for my purposes here is that both locations were single-period sites that were abandoned

by the late 10th BCE. Consequently, both Khirbet Qeiyafa and Khirbet ed-Dawwara would have functioned as important, fortified locations during the purported period of David's rule, but, for unknown reasons, both sites were deserted in the decades after David's reign. The limited occupational history of these locations thus provides the best reason for their absence in the Hebrew Bible: namely, that because of the temporal distance that separated the biblical scribes from the occupation of these sites, those responsible for writing down stories about David's life simply did not know of these locations' significance, or likely even of their existence.

In moving to those places linked to certain individuals referred to in the story of David's life, it is also interesting that the information related about David's Aramean enemy, Hadadezer (2 Sam 8:1–12; 10:15–19), closely resembles the figure of Hazael who, according to both biblical and Assyrian records, became a dominant Aramean king in the southern Levant during the late 9th century BCE.¹⁷⁵ That Hadadezer and Hazael have identical birthplaces (Beth-Rehob), control the same Aramean territories, and share the same sphere of political influence in the Levant according to the biblical narrative suggests that information widely known about Hazael in the late Iron Age was used to augment those nebulous memories behind David's more ancient Aramean rival to the north. David's marriage to Maacah of Geshur (2 Sam 3:3) also suggests some confusion within the sources available about this time, as the name of this princess is the toponym for the Aramean polity that bordered Geshur, and which was likely destroyed by Tiglath Pileser III in 733 BCE.¹⁷⁶

What these examples suggest is that a late Iron Age literary culture possessed a limited access to a more remote Davidic past when writing down their stories. In order to compensate for this deficiency of source material, these scribes drew on imagery and ideas from a historical context more immediate to them. Consequently, when a certain story available to them offered only a vague account of a particular place or event related to David's life, the scribes behind Samuel-Kings would, at moments, draw upon the world in which they lived in an effort to supplement and update their narratives so as to provide a more compelling tale.

In light of these considerations, it is important to reconsider the portrayal of David's Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings with an eye toward the late Iron Age world in which the scribes behind this narrative lived and worked. A case in point stems from various scenes that play out at David's palace. Though the modest lists of David's officers (2 Sam 8:15–18; 2 Sam 20:23–26) could certainly be a faithful rendering of functionaries in an Iron I/IIA highland chiefdom,¹⁷⁷ the social stratification depicted at various moments in David's Jerusalem—whether in Michal's disdainful reference to the lowly handmaidens of David's servants (2 Sam 6:20),¹⁷⁸ the idle king's rooftop wanderings and capacity to dispatch a flurry of servants to do his bidding (2 Sam 11), Amnon's demand that his attendants withdraw from his chambers (2 Sam 13:9), and the fifty servants of Absalom running before the prince's

chariot (2 Sam 15:1)—all represent a notable departure from both Saul's bucolic "court" at Gibeah (1 Sam 20:25) and David's early career as a bandit leader of a poor, discontented, and quite small highland contingency (1 Sam 22:1–2).

Such palatial scenes of David's reign in Jerusalem offer an impression of royal life more congenial to an elite, socially stratified urban center of affluent homes and wealthy citizens more common to late Iron Age Jerusalem than to the small, agrarian settlement of the early 10th century BCE ruled over by a local warlord.¹⁷⁹ Indeed, the scenes of elders and servants moving to and fro before David, of princely quarters (2 Sam 13:10) and rooftop wanderings cohere better with those images of Solomon's impressive multichambered palatial complex with its regal halls and residences for foreign wives (1 Kgs 7:1–12), or the royal palace's description under Jehoiakim over three centuries later.¹⁸⁰ In Jer 36, for example, Baruch reads aloud to the king's officials in the "room of the scribe" located in the palace (Jer 36:12) and, when summoned before the king, Baruch watches as Jehoiakim burns Jeremiah's scroll in the hearth of the "winter house"—a court that was ostensibly part of the king's residence in the capital city (Jer 36:22–23). The startling, anachronistic reference to David's back and forth between his palace and the "Temple of Yhwh" after the death of his first child with Bathsheba (2 Sam 12:20) becomes less surprising with the consideration that, after Solomon, the new palace and temple in Jerusalem were located adjacent to one another on the Temple Mount. Such a spatial relationship between royal court and temple precinct is simply what was most familiar to a late Iron Age group of scribes and their audience.

Two references to the written word in Samuel-Kings are also more suggestive of a late Iron Age provenance for certain images surrounding David's life. The first regards a notice of a Davidic monument established in lands recently subjugated by the Jerusalemite king. Though the absence of memorial inscriptions from the archaeological record in Israel and Judah does not indicate that ones were never fashioned, it is significant, as discussed above, that local Iron Age kings in the Levant only began to erect memorial stele in the late 9th century BCE after exposure to Assyrian royal display inscriptions.¹⁸¹ That David is said to have "restored" his monument to the far north on the Euphrates after his defeat of Hadadezer (2 Sam 8:3) thus reads as an action more in keeping with Iron IIB or IIC rulers than that of those leaders operating during the transition between the Iron I/IIA era a century before. Even more, David's action here echoes that of the deeds of Assyrian emperors who began to erect royal stele in the Levant in the 9th–7th centuries BCE.¹⁸²

Second, the tragic scene of Uriah carrying a letter containing his own death warrant is significant given that David himself is depicted as its author, writing down the orders from his palace in Jerusalem (2 Sam 11:14). That a king was capable of composing a letter to a general in the field with the facility to read it carries certain assumptions about literacy again much more in

keeping with the late Iron Age world of the southern Levant, as evinced by the epigraphic record referred to above, than with the early 10th century BCE in which a local highland warrior would have ruled from Jerusalem. Indeed, the entire plot and thrust of the Uriah story hinges on the capacity to read, with the fate of the loyal servant sealed by a letter that he, unlike David, Joab, or the literature soldier from late Iron Age Lachish, is unable to decipher.¹⁸³

Thematic features surrounding David's reign also betray a late Iron Age worldview. The promise of an unbroken dynasty of Davidic kings (2 Sam 7) accords well, for example, with the reality of the long line of Davidides who had ruled over Jerusalem for two centuries by the time stories about David began to be woven into the larger narrative arc of Samuel-Kings. That Jerusalem had withstood Assyrian siege and emerged as the major urban center in the southern Levant by this time thus gives flesh to Nathan's oracle that David's house and kingdom would be "made secure forever," and that David's throne had been "established for all time" (2 Sam 7:16). To those late Iron Age Jerusalemites who had survived Sennacherib's invasion, Nathan's future promise would have been experienced as a present reality indicative of divine blessing for the capital and its ruling house, and it is difficult to see how such texts would have been written only after the House of David had come to an end in 586 BCE.

The political authority of David's Jerusalem depicted at moments in Samuel-Kings also appears influenced by a late Iron Age worldview, both in the common description of Davidic rule extending "from Dan to Beersheba," (2 Sam 3:10; 17:11; 24:2) and, most conspicuously, in the borders of David's kingdom outlined in the census taken in 2 Sam 24. Regarding the former claim, Samuel-Kings deconstructs its own vision of Davidic dominance in the highlands with its inclusion of references pertaining to the conflicts that embroiled the highlands surrounding Jerusalem. Whether viewed from Absalom's rebellion or Sheba's, Jerusalemite authority is portrayed in Samuel-Kings as being continually questioned by both David's own kinsmen and Saul's tribe of Benjamin. How much further north of Benjaminite territory Jerusalem's authority actually extended in the late Iron I/IIA period therefore remains an open question in the biblical narrative, thus challenging the vision of a Davidic realm extending from the southern Negeb north to Dan. Yet, placed in the context of the late Iron Age capital, tales alluding to the former domain of David's Jerusalem as encompassing "all Israel" from Dan to Beersheba would have been politically expedient and ideologically meaningful. With the downfall of the northern kingdom and the growing stature of Jerusalem, the depiction of David having once ruled over an impressive, united tribal kingdom was an image that could be exploited by Jerusalemite rulers at a time when Assyria's control of the Levant was loosening and Judah's stature was, at least briefly, on the rise. As Davidic kings endeavored to enlarge their realms, whether in Hezekiah's invasion of Philistia or in Josiah's annexation of regions to the north of Jerusalem,

the portrayal of a once-grand Davidic realm would have been a powerful archetype, and one perhaps shaped by the political aspirations of the period in which the scribes of Samuel-Kings were composing their work.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The intent of this chapter has been to foreground and explore the literary portrayal of David's Jerusalem found in Samuel-Kings, and to set these images of David's capital alongside an understanding of that Jerusalem in which this account first began to be written down. What came to light through this manner of analysis was a depiction of Jerusalem that appeared influenced by multiple and, at times, competing memories of David's royal center. An important reason behind this variegated portrait of David's capital, I have argued here, was the negotiation of a remembered past by a late Iron Age literary culture who only had their own, much different Jerusalem to turn to as a point of reference by which to en flesh memories of a Davidic past handed down to them.

In part, this process of negotiation appears to have been driven by revision and adaptation. On this view, the experience of late Iron Age Jerusalem and life in the kingdom of Judah during this time reframed how the scribes behind Samuel-Kings conceived of David's highland center. David's regal residence, glimpses of a temple-palace complex, and moments of significant economic and social stratification in the story of David's reign, to cite a few examples, all were found here to be more commensurate with that late Iron Age city and society attested to in the archaeological record when the Judahite capital grew and became enmeshed in the Assyrian Empire's cultural and economic matrix.

This influence of Jerusalem's present on memories of its past would accord well, then, with Halbwachs's accent on the adaptable character of cultural memory over time, and to his thesis that every generation reconstructs their collective past by drawing on the physical world that surrounds them.¹⁸⁴ Indeed, a common feature that unites those stories told in such diverse contexts as the Iron Age Aegean,¹⁸⁵ early medieval Europe,¹⁸⁶ or early 20th-century Nigerian tribal society¹⁸⁷ is that storytellers steeped in cultural memory, but not beholden to the precepts of modern historiography, often incorporate more familiar referents within their tales about the past in order to supplement their accounts of what once was. "The storytelling that thrives for a long time," W. Benjamin comments on an art he saw dying with modernity's rise, "does not aim to convey the pure essence of a thing, like information or a report. It sinks the thing into the life of the storyteller, in order to bring it out of him again."¹⁸⁸ The argument here has been that the place of late Iron Age Jerusalem "sunk in" to the life of those scribes who wrote from it and, in doing so, reshaped certain memories of the city's earlier Davidic past.

At the same time, the portrait of David's Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings also appeared to draw on older cultural memories. Fractured recollections of David's takeover of Jerusalem, descriptions of the settlement's modest size and infrastructure at the time, or the strange absence of temple building in David's new capital, for example, all reflected a city and society much more in keeping with an early Iron Age settlement than with a later one. The best historical explanation for the presence of these more antiquated references in Samuel-Kings is that those scribes responsible for the formation of these narratives had access to certain cultural memories in which traces of a more remote past were preserved. Regardless of the authenticity of these memories, what is important to underscore for this investigation is that certain recollections surrounding David's life and reign appear to have endured into a later time in Jerusalem's history, even at the price of complicating a vision of Davidic grandeur or Jerusalemite blessedness.¹⁸⁹

In connection with this point, a further argument of this chapter is that the preservation of older memories pertaining to David's Jerusalem can be attributed in part to the fact that the place of Jerusalem itself, unlike its ancient king, persisted into the late Iron Age unconquered and unspoiled by foreign armies. By virtue of Jerusalem's continued existence over four centuries after David's purported reign, the scribes who wrote about a Davidic past would have thus been able to visit and revisit those remains of that Jerusalem connected to David within the cultural memories of their society.¹⁹⁰ The ruins of a centuries-old citadel that once protected the settlement below it, the presence of a modest Phoenician palace replaced in time by more ambitious building projects, the gate by which an endeared prince began his rebellion in Jerusalem, the spring by which a Davidic prince was anointed—the connection between place and memory within each of these scenes suggest that such images were connected with physical spaces and landscapes in Jerusalem. This point is further underscored when one turns to the Book of Nehemiah and reads an anecdote written over five centuries after David would have lived. In this text, the narrator notes that a procession passing through Jerusalem “went up by the stairs of the City of David, at the ascent of the wall, *above the house of David*, to the Water Gate on the east” (Neh 12:37). Even in the much later Jerusalem of the Persian era, it seems, certain places within the older precinct of the settlement were still connected to memories of what was then an already ancient city.

A significant, final analogy to the memory work traced here in connection to the portrayal of David's Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings is what D. Carr describes as a tradition of textual transmission in ancient Israel indebted to mechanisms of memory.¹⁹¹ Carr remains careful not to deny the presence of written texts that aided the composition of the “long-duration” literature that came to be included in the Hebrew Bible, but meticulously documents instances of “memory variants”—the use of synonyms, the rewriting of opening and concluding sections of a work, the harmonization of referents within a text with others thematically related to it—introduced into

a document due to a scribe's propensity to reproduce a text through his or her prior memorization of it.¹⁹² Accordingly, rather than viewing earnest scribes carefully copying from older written works situated before them, Carr contends that such memory variants illustrate the tendency of texts to be composed largely from a scribe's memorization of previous textual traditions. "To exaggerate somewhat," Carr comments, "it is as if past scholars presupposed that earlier layers of biblical texts were written in stone, when in fact it is more likely they were written in (or at least accessed and reproduced by means of) the shifting sands of memory."¹⁹³

Important for my own analysis of those cultural memories related to David's Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings is Carr's observation that, among documented cases of transmission history within extant texts from the 1st millennium BCE, there resides an overall trajectory toward both the preservation and expansion of previous textual traditions: "as a general rule, ancient scholars who were producing a new version of an ancient tradition (or portion of an ancient tradition) either preserved it unchanged (aside from memory or graphic variants) or expanded on it."¹⁹⁴ Here, Carr does not suggest that scribes maintained, unaltered and in pristine form, texts handed down to them, but that when inclined to reproduce a textual tradition these ancient scribes drew on texts memorized with care in their composition, and that mistakes made were often "good variants"—memory slips that made their documents read better, not worse.¹⁹⁵

Carr's conclusions regarding a scribal tendency of "preservation amidst revision" in ancient Israel thus mirrors, in important ways, the conclusions reached in this chapter regarding the preservation *and* augmentation of cultural memories related to David's Jerusalem by the scribes of Samuel-Kings. That certain memories of an early Iron Age past appear to have persisted in the centuries that separated these scribes from the Davidic period and came to be included in Samuel-Kings is, given Carr's observations on scribal practice and memory, not unexpected; neither is the tendency toward the expansion and harmonization of these Davidic memories in response to these scribes' late Iron Age context. "[I]n so far as master scribes were the primary teachers and guardians of the memorized literary tradition in ancient cultures," Carr writes, "they possessed the power . . . to adapt or revise the tradition for the broader community as well as to conserve it."¹⁹⁶

Although my own discussion in this chapter has retraced this memory work in a somewhat different manner by way of a comparison of textual references and archaeological contexts, my investigation nevertheless finds important parallels with Carr's study of textual transmission in ancient Israel. In attending to that Jerusalem represented through those texts devoted to David's reign in Samuel-Kings, the conclusion reached here is that the historian must be sensitive to the interplay between preservation and revision always at work within a community's remembered past.

NOTES

1. Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (2001): 4.
2. As a shorthand way to refer to these chapters, I will simply use the designation "Samuel-Kings" in the following in order to differentiate this literary perspective of David's Jerusalem from the Chronicler's depiction of the city in chapter three. This is not to suggest that the books of Samuel and Kings were originally part of one literary work, but only that 1 Kgs 1–2, in its description of David's last days, shares a literary connection to the previous story of David's reign in 2 Samuel. See, for example, Leonhard Rost, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids* (1926); P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *II Samuel* (1984): 9–16; Walter Dietrich, *The Early Monarchy in Israel* (2007): 82–88; Reinhard Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* (2005): 174–83; Konrad Schmid, *The Old Testament* (2012): 79–86.
3. K. van der Toorn writes, "[t]he social group the author belongs to and identifies with is that of the scribes. His work expresses the common values, ideological and artistic, of the scribal community Our concept of the author as an individual is what underpins our concern with authenticity, originality, and intellectual property. The ancient Near East had little place for such notions." Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (2007): 47.
4. Gabrielle Spiegel, "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text" (1990): 59–86.
5. Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations* (1988): 5.
6. Spiegel comments, "Only after a text has been returned to its social and political context can we begin to appreciate the ways in which social reality shapes discursive and material fields of activity and thus come to an understanding of a text's 'social logic' as situated language use." Spiegel, "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text," 85. Cf. Andrew Ford, *Aristotle as Poet* (2011): 9–26.
7. My intention here, in other words, is not to isolate and date individual *legenda* and other possible sources that these scribes used in the editing and composition of Samuel-Kings, but rather to investigate the more restricted historical time frame in which an initial "edition" of this work, for lack of a better term, came into being.
8. So Greenblatt writes on his approach to Shakespeare that his work "aims to tread the shadowy paths that led from the life he lived into the literature he created." Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (2004): 12.
9. This is to say that I concur with the majority of recent studies on the compositional history of the Davidic stories in Samuel-Kings that 1) see a complex process of formation that incorporated old *legenda* from various periods and locales within ancient Israel and Judah and 2) also acknowledge key periods in which major compositional and redactional activity to this narrative took place. While the subsequent studies of F. M. Cross and R. Smend, or the work of H. Weippert, A. Lemaire, A. Campbell, B. Halpern, R. Kratz, W. Dietrich and T. Römer situate the time and place of these redactional efforts at different periods and locations, they all share in Noth's basic assumption that the authors of Samuel-Kings gathered and shaped earlier traditions available to them. Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* ([1973]): 287–89; Rudolf Smend, "Das Gesetz und die Völker" (1971): 494–509; Helga Weippert, "Die 'deuteronomistischen' Beurteilungen der Könige von Israel und Juda und das Problem der Redaktion der Königsbücher" (1972): 301–39; André Lemaire, "Toward a Redactional History of the Book of Kings" (2000):

- 446–461; Anthony Campbell, *Of Prophets and Kings* (1986); Baruch Halpern, *The First Historians* (1988): 205–240; Kratz (2005); Dietrich, 262–316; Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History* (2005): 41–43.
10. Robert Kawashima, *Biblical Narrative and the Death of the Rhapsode* (2004): 35–45.
 11. Cf. David Damrosch, *The Narrative Covenant* (1987): 40–41.
 12. Christopher Rollston, “Scribal Education in Ancient Israel” (2006): 47–74; *ibid.*, *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel* (2010): 92–113.
 13. Rollston, “Scribal Education in Ancient Israel,” 68.
 14. *Ibid.*, 68. So also Sanders’s comments: “Why was the Iron Age Hebrew script distinct from the scripts of Israel and Judah’s close neighbors? *Institutions with a well-honed sense of place* would have been required to produce this uniformity.” Sanders, *Invention of Hebrew* (2009): 127. (My italics)
 15. Katherine O’Brien O’Keefe, *Visible Song* (1990): esp. 1–46, 138–54; and Sheldon Pollock, “India in the Vernacular Millennium” (1998): 41–74.
 16. Sanders, 108.
 17. Johannes Renz and Wolfgang Röllig, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik* (1995).
 18. Gerhard von Rad, “Der Anfang der Geschichtsschreibung im Alten Israel” (1944): 1–42.
 19. The point, then, is not that writing was completely absent from the 10th century BCE, but only that a robust, vernacular-Hebrew prose tradition is more likely a late Iron Age development. On the survival of scribal activity in the early Iron Age, see Ryan Byrne, “The Refuge of Scribalism in Iron I Palestine” (2007): 23–31.
 20. Here, the uninscribed seals of the 10th and 9th century again find meaning: even if such seals do not bear epigraphic traces, the presence of these seals attest to the presence of those papyrus or leather documents which they once held together. For the suggestion that scribes in 10th-century BCE Jerusalem composed records in Phoenician, see Joseph Naveh, *The Early History of the Alphabet* (1982): 72; and Sanders, 113. For the plausibility of more limited court and temple documents being composed during the 10th century reign of David, see also Nadav Na’aman, “Sources and Composition in the History of David” (1996): 170–86.
 21. Ron Tappy et al., “An Abecedary of the Mid-Tenth Century B.C.E. from the Judean Shephelah” (2006): 5–46.
 22. Emile Puech, “L’ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa et Les Débuts de La Royauté en Israël” (2010): 162–84.
 23. William F. Albright, “The Gezer Calendar” (1943): 16–26.
 24. Phoenician inscriptions from Byblos attest to the practice of inscribing objects, such as bowls, arrowheads and, with Ahiram in the 10th century, sarcophagi. See Frank Moore Cross, “Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts” (1980): 1–20; and Christopher Rollston, “The Dating of the Early Byblian Phoenician Inscriptions” (2008): 57–93.
 25. Nadav Na’aman, “Royal Inscriptions and the Histories of Joash and Ahaz, Kings of Judah” (1998): 333–49; *idem.*, “Three Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan” (2000): 92–104; and Sanders, 120–22.
 26. For a similar relationship between empire and the development of vernacular literature, see Sheldon Pollock, “The Cosmopolitan Vernacular” (1998): 6–37; and *idem.*, “India in the Vernacular Millennium” (1998): 41–74.
 27. Assurnasirpal II (883–859 BCE) appears to have been the first Assyrian king to establish a royal stele in the Levant, a practice that was followed by his successors in the next two centuries who made frequent invasions into the region.

28. A fascinating example of this mimicry is the Tell Fekheriye Inscription and statue, in which Hadad-Yis'i, a local Aramean governor dressed in Assyrian style, communicates his achievements in both a local vernacular Aramaic and the Akkadian language of the Assyrian Empire. Ali-Abou Assaf, Pierre Bordeuil, and Alan Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekheriyé* (1982).
29. For more recent works, see, for example, Nadav Na'aman, "Saul, Benjamin, and the Emergence of 'Biblical Israel' (Part 2)" (2009): 342–48; Römer, 67–106; Dietrich, 247–50; David Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (2011): 304–317; Schmid, *The Old Testament* 71–75.
30. Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (1972): 100–157; Hans U. Steytmans, *Deuteronomium 28 und die adê zur Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons* (1995); Eckhart Otto, *Das Deuteronomium* (1999): 57–90, 364–78; Bernard Levinson, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty as Source for the Canon Formula in Deuteronomy 13:1" (2010): 337–47; Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 307–313.
31. For the text of this treaty, see Simo Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe, eds., *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (1988): 28–58.
32. The recently recovered vassal treaty of Esarhaddon from Tell Ta'yinat in southern Turkey (dated to 672 BCE) provides striking evidence for this general picture. That this tablet was perforated and found within the inner sanctum of Building XVI (a temple of the Neo-Assyrian period) illustrates decisively that this treaty was *displayed* at a prominent location at the site (Timothy Harrison and James Osborne, "Building XVI and the Neo-Assyrian Precinct at Tell Tayiat" [2012]: 137) and used in a cultic context, and thus offers a highly suggestive analogy to what may have occurred in Jerusalem. For the recent publication of this text, see Jacob Lauinger, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty at Tell Tayinat" (2012): 87–123; for the archaeological context of this tablet, see Harrison and Osborne, 125–44.
33. On this point, see also the important study of Peter Altmann, *Festive Meals in Ancient Israel* (2011): esp. 31–37 and 241–44.
34. In addition to Deuteronomy, notable parallels between language in the Book of Isaiah and Assyrian literature are also prominent. See, for example, Peter Machinist, "Assyria and its Image in the First Isaiah" (1983): 719–37.
35. On this royal Assyrian ideology, see Mario Liverani, "The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire" (1979): 297–317; and Hayim Tadmor, "History and Ideology in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions" (1981): 13–33.
36. Bernard Levinson, "The Reconceptualization of Kingship in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History's Transformation of Torah" (2001): 511–34.
37. See Albrecht Alt, "The Monarchy in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah" (1968): 241–59.
38. Cf. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 311–13; Schmid, 74–75.
39. For an important study on those earlier written traditions that may have contributed to the story of David's life in Samuel, see Jeremy Hutton, *The Transjordanian Palimpsest* (2009): 113–56.
40. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 311.
41. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 274–89.
42. *Ibid.*, 284–89; For an extended consideration of the preexilic history of this text and the possible historical circumstances it reflected, see William Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise to David* (1999): 17–97.
43. Jürg Hutzli, "The Literary Relationship between I–II Samuel and I–II Kings. Considerations Concerning the Formation of the Two Books*" (2010): 505–13.
44. Ian Provan, *Hezekiah and the Book of Kings* (1988): 153–56, 171–76; Baruch Halpern and David Vanderhooff, "The Editions of Kings in the

- 7th–6th Centuries B.C.E.” (1991): 179–244; Geoffrey Geoghegan, “‘Until This Day’ and the Preexilic Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History” (2003): 201–227; Richard Nelson, “The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History” (2005): 319–337.
45. The number of studies devoted to the relationship between orality and literacy is tremendous, and continues to grow, but for a sampling of significant works on this topic see Jack Goody, ed., *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (1975), Ruth Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality* (1988); Rosalind Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (1989); Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (1982).
 46. Mark Smith and Wayne Pitard, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle* (2009): 11–14, 725–30.
 47. Thomas, *Oral Tradition*, 49–50.
 48. Matthew Innes, “Memory, Orality and Literacy” (1998): 35.
 49. Here I would dissent from Kawashima’s strong thesis of a strict dichotomy between the world of the rhapsode and that of the biblical author in Kawashima, 14. The ethnographic information available on oral and written practices in the ancient world suggests that, instead, the rhapsode and the author would have lived side by side, each drawing upon the others’ craft in their offerings to a familiar audience.
 50. Though Shalmaneser III claimed victory within the Kurkh Monolith (COS 2.113A), the battle of Qarqar in 853 BCE witnessed a coalition of Israelite, Aramaean, and Phoenician armies who were able to turn back Assyria in what was, it appears, a stalemate. On Shalmaneser III’s fourth campaign into the region in 845 BCE, however, Assyrian forces were able to have some success, and by 841 BCE, the coalition had disintegrated and the Assyrian king was able to collect tribute from various leaders—as witnessed, for example, in the scene of Jehu’s capitulation on the Black Obelisk from Kalhu.
 51. Shalmaneser V, Sargon II, and Sennacherib followed the Assyrian policy of western campaigns into the Levant established by Tiglath-Pileser III. The Levant was thus transformed into either Assyrian provinces (such as Samaria, Dor, and Megiddo) or vassal states (such as Judah). Amélie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East* (1995): II, 458–72.
 52. Bob Becking, *The Fall of Samaria* (1992): 95–104. Excavations in Samaria have been limited, essentially, to its acropolis, but Ussishkin estimates the total size of the site to have been ca. 10–12 hectares, placing the population before its Assyrian takeover at around 4000–5000. David Ussishkin, “Samaria, Jezreel, Megiddo” (2007): 294–98.
 53. Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 BCE) already had pressed into the Levant and captured coastal cities as far south as Gaza. Egypt’s continuing attempts to influence affairs in the Levant afterward finally incited Assyrian aggression to the point that Esarhaddon moved into Egypt and conquered Thebes in 671 BCE.
 54. Yohanan Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (1979): 30–31.
 55. Lipschits’s recent arguments for redating the first appearance of the *lmlk* seal impressions to the first quarter of the 8th century are noteworthy, providing a suggestive link between these seals and Ahaz’s efforts to bring Judah into a vassal relationship with Assyria. Oded Lipschits, “Archaeological Facts, Historical Speculations, and the Date of the LMLK Storage Jars” (2012): 7.
 56. 2 Kgs 18:8 references Hezekiah’s rebellious activities in Philistia, notably at the important Assyrian-controlled port of Gaza. In addition, Sennacherib observes (COS 2.119B) that the pro-Assyrian king of Ekron, Padi, was handed over to Hezekiah by the inhabitants of Ekron and was held as a prisoner in Jerusalem. That Sennacherib also details the rebellion of Sidqia, king of

- Ashkelon, suggests a broader anti-Assyrian coalition in the southern Levant, presumably with Hezekiah as one of its most active leaders.
57. Nahman Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (1983): 46–49; Hillel Geva, “Western Jerusalem at the End of the First Temple Period in Light of the Excavations in the Jewish Quarter” (2003): 200–03. More recent excavations by Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron have uncovered another segment of a wall just to the south of the City of David that either served as a precursor to the Broad Wall or connected with it near the bottom of the Kidron Valley on the southeastern side of Iron Age Jerusalem. Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, “The Urban Development of Jerusalem in the Late Eighth Century B.C.E.” (2003): 209–18.
 58. Yigal Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David*, I (1984): 28.
 59. Hillel Geva, ed. *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, Vol. I*, (2000): 82.
 60. Geva, “Western Jerusalem,” 195.
 61. Avigad, 35–45.
 62. Geva, “Western Jerusalem,” 206. Gabriel Barkay has, however, argued for a “super-maximalist” understanding of late Iron II Jerusalem. Limited excavations in the area north of the Broad Wall in the contemporary Christian and Muslim Quarters of the Old City have produced Iron II pottery, suggesting, in Barkay’s view, “a series of extramural, scattered suburbs” built during the course of the 8th through 6th centuries BCE. Moreover, tombs and necropolises established beyond the Damascus Gate of modern Jerusalem offer the possibility that the ancient city extended to these limits (as burial sites were usually positioned just outside of city walls). Gabriel Barkay, “Response to ‘Revealing Biblical Jerusalem’” (1985): 476–77.
 63. Shiloh, *City of David*, I, 28–29; Alon De Groot and Hannah Bernick-Greenberg, *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh*, Vol. VIIA (2012): 154–161; and Margreet Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen Kenyon in Jerusalem, 1961–1967: Vol. III* (2001): 109.
 64. On the possibility of two, concurrent city walls existing to the east of the City of David during this period, see De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg, VIIA, 159.
 65. Shiloh, *City of David*, I, 29; De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg, VIIA, 156–57; Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen Kenyon in Jerusalem*, 80.
 66. De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg, VIIA, 157–58.
 67. Eilat Mazar and Benjamin Mazar, *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount* (1989): 58–60.
 68. Yigal Shiloh, “Jerusalem’s Water Supply During Siege—The Rediscovery of Warren’s Shaft” (1981): 24–39; Jane Cahill, “A Rejoinder to ‘Was the Siloam Tunnel Built by Hezekiah?’” (1997): 184–85; Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, “Light at the End of the Tunnel” (1999): 25–33, 72–74.
 69. David Ussishkin, “The Water Systems of Jerusalem during Hezekiah’s Reign” (1995): 289–303; Donald Ariel and Alon De Groot, “The Iron Age Extramural Occupation at the City of David and Additional Observations on the Siloam Channel” (2000): 164–67. For a more recent redating of the Siloam Channel by Reich and Shukron to the mid-8th century BCE, see Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, “The Date of the Siloam Tunnel Reconsidered” (2011): 147–157.
 70. In 734 BCE, Tiglath-Pileser III moved down the Mediterranean coast, taking Byblos, Arqa, Tyre, and extending as far south as Gaza. In 732 BCE, Damascus fell, and Hoshea of Israel, who had assassinated the pro-Damascus Israelite king Pekah, submitted to Assyria and gave up the provinces of Gilead, Dor, and Megiddo to the Assyrian Empire. After Hoshea’s assassination and Israel’s subsequent rebellion against Assyria, Samaria was conquered and destroyed in 721/720 BCE. See Hayim Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III*,

- King of Assyria* (1994): 81–82, 188–89; K. Lawson Younger, Jr., “The Deportations of Israelites” (1998): 201–227; Nadav Na’aman, “Population Changes in Palestine Following Assyrian Deportations” (1993): 104–24.
71. For Tiglath Pileser III’s complete destruction of Hazor in 732, see Yigal Yadin, *Hazor: The Rediscovery of a Great Citadel of the Bible* (1975): 175–83. For the population figures of Dor after Assyrian involvement see Ephraim Stern, *Dor—Ruler of the Seas* (1994): 131–45. For Shechem’s destruction, see Edward Campbell, “Shechem (Tell Balatah),” Vol. IV (1993): 1352–53. Concerning the lower Galilee region, Gal notes that the entire area was “significantly deserted and exiled to Assur,” with “no new settlers brought into the region, as was done later at Samaria.” Zvi Gal, *Lower Galilee During the Iron Age* (1992): 108. A similar fate befell the region of Manasseh, in which 68% of the sites were abandoned or destroyed. Adam Zertal, “The Province of Samaria (Assyrian *Samerina*) in the Late Iron Age (Iron Age III)” (2003): 401–03.
 72. Magen Broshi, “The Expansion of Jerusalem in the Reigns of Hezekiah and Manasseh” (1974): 21–26. For similar historical reconstructions, see more recently Israel Finkelstein and Neil Silberman, *David and Solomon* (2006): 121–149; William Schniedewind, “Jerusalem, the Late Judean Monarchy, and the Composition of Biblical Texts” (2003): 380–81.
 73. Geva, “Western Jerusalem,” 203.
 74. Nadav Na’aman, “When and How Did Jerusalem Become a Great City? The Rise of Jerusalem as Judah’s Premier City in the Eighth-Seventh Centuries B.C.E.” (2007): 24–27; idem., “Dismissing the Myth of a Flood of Israelite Refugees in the Late Eighth Century BCE” (2014): 1–14. Finkelstein, in response to Na’aman’s figures, contends that carbon dating places the transition of the Beth-Shemesh IV/III ceramic profile at ca. 760 BCE. Even so, Beth-Shemesh III still predates Sennacherib’s campaign into Judah in 701 BCE by half a century. Israel Finkelstein, “The Settlement History of Jerusalem in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC” (2008): 501–02.
 75. Na’aman, “When and How,” 24–27; Geva, “Western Jerusalem,” 203–05.
 76. De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg, VIIA, 160–61.
 77. Na’aman, “Dismissing the Myth,” 9–11.
 78. Geva, “Western Jerusalem,” 205–07.
 79. Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Na’aman, “The Judahite Shephelah in the Late 8th and Early 7th Centuries B.C.E.” (2004): 60–79. For the devastating destruction of Lachish, see David Ussishkin, *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)*, Vol. I (2004): 88–90.
 80. The recent collection of essays devoted to Sennacherib’s invasion illustrate the different theories for Jerusalem’s circumvention of Assyrian aggression, but consensus is now emerging—in tandem with archaeological evidence that does not evince traces of siege works from the late 8th-century BCE city—that Jerusalem was not in fact placed under direct siege, but was more likely isolated by Assyrian forces who cut off all routes to the city. See Stephanie Dalley, “Recent Evidence from Assyrian Sources for Judaeon History from Uzziah to Manasseh” (2004): 387–401.
 81. See J.A. Brinkman, “Sennacherib’s Babylonian Problem” (1973): 89–95.
 82. Finkelstein estimates that about 85% of the Shephelah was decimated by Sennacherib’s invasion, with a decrease in built-up area of 70%. Israel Finkelstein, “The Archaeology of the Days of Manasseh” (1994): 172–76. In terms of Judah as a whole, Stern notes that of 354 known Judean settlements in the 8th century that were destroyed in the Assyrian campaign, only thirty-nine were rebuilt after 701 BCE. Ephraim Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, Vol. II (2001): 142.

83. Finkelstein, "Days of Manasseh," 169.
84. Nahman Avigad and Hillel Geva, "Area A—Stratigraphy and Architecture," (2000): 82.
85. Geva, "Western Jerusalem," 199.
86. Geva, "Western Jerusalem," 207; Reich and Shukron, "The Urban Development of Jerusalem," 217; Ariel and De Groot, 158.
87. Shimon Gibson and Gershon Edelstein, "Investigating Jerusalem's Rural Landscape" (1985): 139–55; and Gershon Edelstein and Ianir Milevski, "The Rural Settlement of Jerusalem Re-evaluated" (1994): 2–11.
88. Oded Lipschits, "Demographic Changes in Judah between the Seventh and the Fifth Centuries B.C.E." (2003): 326–28.
89. Finkelstein, "Days of Manasseh," 177.
90. Seymour Gitin, "Tel Miqne-Ekron in the 7th Century B.C.:" (1996): 219–42.
91. Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen Kenyon in Jerusalem*, 110.
92. Avraham Faust and Ehud Weiss, "Judah, Philistia, and the Mediterranean World" (2005): 71–92.
93. The stunning remains at Ramat Rahel from the late 8th–7th centuries could account for this absence in Jerusalem, as the new constructions at the site may have been carried out in order to provide an administrative center on the outskirts of Jerusalem that allowed the capital city to house political and residential neighborhoods. Oded Lipschits et al., "Palace and Village, Paradise and Oblivion" (2011): 10–34.
94. Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen Kenyon in Jerusalem*, 109.
95. Shiloh records that thirty-seven store jars were recovered from the House of Ahiel (an unusually high number); the building incorporated a thick, plaster floor and what appeared to be functioning indoor plumbing. Shiloh, *City of David*, I, 18.
96. *Ibid.*, 20.
97. Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, *Judahite Burial Practices and Beliefs About the Dead* (1992): 49; James Osborne, "Secondary Mortuary Practice and the Bench Tomb" (2011): 35–53.
98. Shiloh, *City of David*, I, 19; and *idem.*, "The Material Culture from Judah and Jerusalem in Iron Age II" (1985): 139–40.
99. D.S. Reese, "Marine Invertebrates and other shells from Jerusalem," in *Excavations by K.M. Kenyon in Jerusalem, 1961–67, IV* (1995), 265–78.
100. Steiner, "Jerusalem in the Tenth and Seventh Centuries BCE," 285.
101. André Lemaire, "Les ostraca Paleo-Hebreux des fouilles de l'Ophel" (1978): 156–60.
102. Such an economic network extended to Lachish, where Zimhoni notes that in the post-701 BCE era, the finds from the site indicate "a more diverse, coastal plain-oriented assemblage" illustrating Lachish's participation in the flow of goods from inland areas of the Levant toward the Mediterranean. See Orna Zimhoni, "Two Ceramic Assemblages from Lachish Levels III and II" (1990): 48–49.
103. Raz Kletter, *Economic Keystones* (1998): 49–58.
104. Ryan Byrne, "Early Assyrian Contacts with Arabs and the Impact on Levantine Vassal Tribute" (2003): 11–25.
105. Ze'ev Herzog, "The Beer-Sheba Valley" (1994): 126–27. For a similar assessment, see Finkelstein, "Days of Manasseh," 177.
106. Tel 'Ira VII was built on a scale four times the size of Beersheba, making the site the largest fortification in the region—and perhaps indicating an intensification of the involvement of Judah in the Arabian trade route during the reign of Manasseh. See Itzhak Beit-Arieh, ed., *Tel 'Ira: A Stronghold in the Biblical Negev* (1999): 1–3. This type of growth in the southern reaches of Judah is

- also attested by the construction of the fortress at Horvat 'Uza and Horvat Radum in the mid-7th century. See Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, *Horvat 'Uza and Horvat Radum* (2007): 331–334; and Lynn Tatum, “King Manasseh and the Royal Fortress at Horvat 'Usa” (1991): 136–45.
107. Byrne writes that “Assyrian preoccupation with Arab luxury goods passing through the Levant stemmed from the fact that traffic from the southern Arabian peninsula to Mesopotamia consumers traveled *exclusively* through this intermediate region as late as the Neo-Babylonian period.” Ryan Byrne, “Statecraft in Early Israel” (2003): 273. For a detailed analysis of the development of this important trade route in the 8th century BCE, see Lily Singer-Avitz, “Beersheba—A Gateway Community in Southern Arabian Long-Distance Trade in the Eighth Century B.C.E.” (1999): 3–75.
 108. Shiloh, *City of David*, I, 19; and idem., “South Arabian Inscriptions from the City of David, Jerusalem” (1987): 9–18.
 109. Baruch Halpern, “Jerusalem and the Lineages in the Seventh Century BCE” (1991): 63. The Assyrian vassal lists are provided in Riekele Borger, *Die Inschriften des Assarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (1967): 60–61.
 110. Seymour Gitin and Trude Dothan, “The Rise and Fall of Ekron of the Philistines” (1987): 197–222.
 111. Byrne, “Statecraft,” 192–94.
 112. Halpern, “Jerusalem and the Lineages,” 71.
 113. *Ibid.*, 71–72.
 114. Byrne, “Statecraft,” 193.
 115. Lawrence Stager, “Ashkelon and the Archaeology of Destruction” (1996): 61–74; Seymour Gitin, “The Neo-Assyrian Empire and its Western Periphery: The Levant, with a Focus on Philistine Ekron” (1997): 77–103; Nadav Na'aman, “Ekron under the Assyrian and Egyptian Empires” (2003): 81–91; and J.B. Pritchard, *Winery, Defenses and Soundings at Gibeon* (1964).
 116. Orna Zimhoni, *Studies in the Iron Age Pottery of Israel* (1997): 171–72; idem., “The Pottery of Levels V and IV and its Archaeological and Chronological Implications” (2004): 1705–07.
 117. For a historical overview of Josianic measures at Bethel, see Klaus Koenen, *Bethel: Geschichte, Kult und Theologie* (2003): 52–59. For the modest archaeological remains from Bethel at this time, however, see Israel Finkelstein and Lily Singer-Avitz, “Reevaluating Bethel” (2009): 33–48.
 118. Othmar Keel, *Die Geschichte Jerusalems und die Entstehung des Monotheismus*, Vol. I (2007): 512–17; and Oded Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem* (2005): 20–29. Nadav Na'aman, “Josiah and the Kingdom of Judah” (2005): 216–17.
 119. Na'aman, “Josiah,” 232.
 120. Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, Vol. II (1985): 100.
 121. The third person, masculine, singular verb is translated here in the plural because it reflects the action of the collective singular noun “Jebusites” referred to in the previous clause.
 122. This clause is an old crux that has produced many interpretations. The MT's כִּי אִם הִטִּיר־ךָ suffers from the use of a singular verb where one would expect a plural to reflect the actions of “the blind and the lame,” and one would also anticipate the use of the imperfect in this context. Both 4QSam^a [ח] כִּי הִטִּיתָ (for they incited) and the OG ἀντέστησαν (they resisted/opposed) appear to have attempted to resolve the difficulties posed at this point in the MT, and for this reason, the MT most likely retains the more primitive reading.
 123. Much of v. 8 serves as an interpretive crux (Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Book of Samuel* [1960]: 259–61). The precise meaning of the term צַנּוּר remains ambiguous, with the only other use of this

- term in Biblical Hebrew stemming from Ps 42:8 where it appears to describe a flood or stream of water (*HALOT*, 1038). Archaeologists have therefore searched for an ancient water shaft or conduit into Jerusalem from which an assault may have been made by David's forces, including Warren's Shaft and other entry points in the city. None of their results have been compelling. See William F. Albright, "The *šinnôr* in the Story of David's Capture of Jerusalem," *JPOS* 2 (1922): 286–90 and L.Hughes Vincent, "Le *šinnôr* dans la prise de Jérusalem (II Sam v, 8)," *Revue Biblique* 33 (1924): 357–70. For other possible translations of the term, including anatomical, see the discussion in McCarter, *II Samuel*, 139–140, and Christa Schäfer-Lichtenberger, "David und Jerusalem—ein Kapitel Biblischer Historiographie" (1993): 203–205.
124. Reading, with the Qere, as a passive participle in reference to the direct object, marked by the *nota accusativi* "lame and blind." 4QSam^a solves this difficult expression by rendering the verb as a feminine perfect in connection with the נפש 'of David, i.e. "the נפש 'of David hates the lame and blind."
 125. Both 4QSam^a [יריבנה עיר] and the OG (και ὑκοδόμησεν τὴν πόλιν) preserve the direct object of David's building activity, as does the Chronicler in 1 Chr 11:8 [יריבן העיר]
 126. Where the term מצודה appears in Hebrew, it most often connotes a type of fortress or defensive keep—see, for example, in 1 Sam 22:4, 24:23, and 2 Sam 23:14. One of the most interesting uses of the term appears in Is 29:3 where Yhwh speaks against Jerusalem, "And I will encamp against you like David, and I will besiege you with siegeworks, and I will erect against you towers [מצודות]"—perhaps drawing upon a tradition that claimed David once besieged the city. The sense of מצודה as a military tower is again used in Ecc 9:14.
 127. Baruch Halpern, *David's Secret Demons* (2001): 319.
 128. For example, the ideology behind building inscriptions already with Shamshi-Adad I in the 19th century BCE and his construction of Ekallatum (COS 2.110) or, more locally, in Mesha's building efforts in the city of Dibon in the 9th century BCE (COS 2.23). For an important treatment of this royal ideology, see Douglas Green, "I Undertook Great Works" (2010).
 129. Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, 320.
 130. McCarter, *II Samuel*, 153 n. 17; Nadav Na'aman, "David's Stronghold and Samson's Rock of Etam" (2012): 431–440.
 131. A *hapax legomenon* (the term occurs again only in the parallel text of 1 Chr 16:3). As McCarter notes, this term came to be understood in the rabbinic traditions as a choice piece of meat, but Greek renderings in the OG, Aquila, and Symmachus identify it as some form of cake or bread. McCarter, *II Samuel*, 173 n. 19.
 132. Nadav Na'aman, "Jerusalem in the Tenth and Fifth-Fourth Centuries BCE" (2012): 25–27.
 133. The location of the memorial pillar is said to have been in the "Valley of the King" (cf. Gen 14:17), a location most attribute to the confluence of the Hinnom and Kidron valleys at the southern end of the City of David. Josephus (*Ant.* 7.237) states that the monument was two furlongs distant (ca. half kilometer) from the city.
 134. For the suggestion that a "Jerusalemite" party played a role in the politics of Solomon's succession, see especially Keel, I, 186–89.
 135. Heb הזהב שלטה *šlṭ* remains somewhat ambiguous, with the meaning of the term ranging from a type of weapon that is thrown, according to its usage in Mishnaic Hebrew, to a small, circular shield, as referenced in Ez 27:11. In Jer 51:11, however, the term can only mean a quiver, and this connotation is supported in 2 Kings 11:10 and 2 Chr 23:9. Furthermore, this latter understanding conforms well with the Akkadian *šalṭu*—a bow and arrow case. See

- Riekele Borger, "Die Waffenträger des Königs Darius" (1972): 385–98; and HALOT, 1522–23.
136. 2 Sam 8:3 records that David struck down Hadadezer on his way to restore "his" stele (יָרָם) (see also 1 Sam 15:12 and 2 Sam 18:18)—the ambiguity in English is also present in the Hebrew, leaving the precise antecedent of the pronoun uncertain—located on the "River," a term used primarily to designate the Euphrates as the Chronicler (1 Chr 18:3) makes explicit. While each of these terms remain somewhat ambiguous, the narrator appears to indicate that David defeated Hadadezer on *David's* way to the *Euphrates*.
 137. 2 Sam 8:13 begins, "And David fashioned for himself a name (שֵׁם)." A reference to a memorial that appears to be a synonym of יָרָם used above, and which is also employed in a similar fashion in Is 55:13.
 138. So, for example, Esarhaddon's own careful drafting of a succession treaty written to dissuade future heirs from patricide and fratricide. Parpola and Watanabe, eds., 28–58.
 139. Among those individuals who are said to oppose David during the rebellion (other than Absalom) are Mephibosheth, grandson of Saul (according to Mephibosheth's servant), Shimei ben Gera, and Sheba ben Bichri—all three of whom descend from the tribe of Benjamin.
 140. Andrew George, *The Gilgamesh Epic*, Vol. I (2003): 543–44.
 141. Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (1987): 190–229.
 142. The genre of Assyrian royal annals is not that of those narratives in Samuel-Kings, and a king such as David may have indeed proclaimed his feats with the same type of ideological discourse as those rulers in Assyria. Nevertheless, in the absence of such putative accounts from the courts of David, the difference between the presentation of Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings and that of royal sites in Assyrian annals is significant.
 143. See, for example, Tiglath-Pileser I's description of his building projects RIMA 2, A.0.87.1; for Sennacherib's famed "palace without rival" see ARAB 2.180.
 144. Green, "I Undertook Great Works," 68.
 145. *Ibid.*, 65, 70–83.
 146. Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (1981): 158.
 147. Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (1997): 22–24.
 148. Aren Maeir, ed., *Tell es-Safi/Gath I: The 1996–2005 Seasons*, Vol. 1 (2012): 19–49.
 149. *Ibid.*, 49–56.
 150. Lawrence Stager, Daniel Master, and J. David Schloen, *Ashkelon 3: The 7th Century BC* (2011): 3–49.
 151. On the location of Geshur and its identification with the site of et-Tell, see Rami Arav, "Towards a Comprehensive History of Geshur," Vol. III (2004): 1–37; and Nadav Na'aman, "The Kingdom of Geshur in History and Memory" (2012): 88–101.
 152. Arav, "History of Geshur," 1–37.
 153. Na'aman, "The Kingdom of Geshur," 95–97.
 154. *Ibid.*, 97.
 155. Nadav Na'aman, "David's Sojourn in Keilah in Light of the Amarna Letters" (2010): 87–97.
 156. See again Beit-Arieh, ed., *Tel 'Ira*; and idem., *Horvat 'Uza and Horvat Radum*.
 157. Finkelstein and Silberman, *David and Solomon*, 38; Ze'ev Herzog and Lily Singer-Avitz, "Redefining the Centre: The Emergence of State in Judah" (2004): 209–44.
 158. Moshe Kochavi, *Aphek-Antipatris I: Excavations of Areas A and B* (2000); Amihai Mazar, *Excavations at Tell Qasile* (1980): 9–12, 58–60.
 159. Israel Finkelstein, "Iron I Shiloh: Twenty Years Later" (2005): 142–52.

160. McCarter, *II Samuel*, 501.
161. George Kelm and Amihai Mazar, *Timnah* (1995): 115–75; Jeffrey Zorn, “Nasbeh, Tell en-,” in NEAEHL, Vol. III (1993), 1098–1102.
162. Nadav Na’aman, “In Search of Reality behind the Account of David’s Wars with Israel’s Neighbours” (2002): 202; Mario Liverani, *Israel’s History* (2003): 81–83.
163. Geva, “Western Jerusalem,” 193–95.
164. Green, “*I Undertook Great Works*,” 64–81, 285–320.
165. The Chronicler’s depiction of David’s building efforts is precisely the reverse. There David builds from the Millo out into the “surrounding area” [עַד הַסָּבִיב וְעַד הַמְּלוּא] and Joab restores the remainder of the city (1 Chr 11:8).
166. In the Panamuwa Inscription (KAI 215), for example, Panamuwa’s son Bar-rakib goes to great lengths to detail the accomplishments of his father in order to memorialize him. Only elsewhere will Bar-rakib instruct his scribes to write of his own accomplishments (KAI 216–217).
167. Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 33–48; idem., “Oral Residue in Tudor Prose Style” (1965): 145–54.
168. On the character of West Semitic tribal politics, see especially Daniel Fleming, *Democracy’s Ancient Ancestors* (2004): esp. 104–69; idem., *The Legacy of Israel in Judah’s Bible* (2012): 179–192, 290–99. Cf. Sanders, 67–75.
169. Nadav Na’aman, “The Date of the List of Towns that Received the Spoil of Amalek (1 Sam 30:26–31)” (2010): 175–76.
170. *Ibid.*, 179–83.
171. *Ibid.*, 183. For a similar assessment on redactional critical grounds, see Alexander Fischer, “Beutezug und Segensgabe” (2003): 48–64.
172. Yosef Garfinkel and Saar Ganor, *Khirbet Qeiyafa Vol. I* (2009): 75–109.
173. Israel Finkelstein, “Excavations at Khirbet ed-Dawwara” (1990): 163–208.
174. *Ibid.*, 202. Such a list of “forgotten places” could be extended. The largest city in the Beth-Shean Valley, Tel Rehov, does not play any part in any stories devoted to David’s reign, and may have fallen out of memory due to its destruction by the Assyrians and its abandonment after the 8th century BCE. Added to this site could be a number of other settlements, including Tel Qasile, Khirbet Raddana, and Tel Masos, all of which served as important settlements in the Iron I/Iron IIA period, but were destroyed or abandoned by the 9th century BCE and are not cited in the biblical corpus.
175. Na’aman, “Account of David’s Wars,” 207–10.
176. Nava Panitz-Cohen et al., “Northern Exposure: Launching Excavations at Tell Abil el-Qameh (Abel Beth Maacah)” (2013): 27–42.
177. Hermann Niemann, *Herrschaft, Königtum, und Staat* (1993): 8–10.
178. Finkelstein and Silberman, *David and Solomon*, 107.
179. For this Jerusalem, see chapters four and five of this study.
180. David Ussishkin, “King Solomon’s Palaces” (1973): 78–105.
181. Sanders, 114–22.
182. So Shalmaneser III’s description, for example, in *RIMA*, Vol. III, A.0.102.28, 18b-23.
183. F.M. Cross, “A Literate Soldier: Lachish Letter III,” in *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry* (1985), 41–7.
184. Maurice Halbwachs, *La Mémoire Collective* (1968): 130–167
185. Susan Sherratt, “Archaeological Contexts” (2005): 134–41.
186. Innes, 33–34.
187. J.D.Y. Peel, “Making History: The Past in the Ijesho Present” (1984): 119.
188. Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections* (1968): 91–92.
189. Cf. Halpern, *The First Historians*, 230.
190. Nadav Na’aman similarly hints at this possibility in “Biblical and Historical Jerusalem” (2012): 23.

191. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 3–36.
192. *Ibid.*, 37–101.
193. *Ibid.*, 36.
194. *Ibid.*, 99.
195. *Ibid.*, 13–18.
196. *Ibid.*, 6.

3 David's Jerusalem in the Book of Chronicles

The Redress of the Past

Merriment, the good conscience, the happy deed, confidence in what lay ahead—in the case of an individual as of a people, all of these things depend on the existence of a line dividing the bright and discernible from the un-illuminable and dark; on one knowing the right time to forget just as well as the right time to remember.¹

Out of the ashes and rubble of a Jerusalem razed by Nebuchadnezzar's army, there arose a new settlement in the centuries that followed.² Within this period of Jerusalem's slow rebirth, the story of Judah's past was rewritten for a community who, much like Jerusalem itself, had been transformed by the experiences of war and foreign empire. This new story, dependent on, but quite distinct from, the tales conveyed in Samuel-Kings, finds particular significance for this study of David's Jerusalem because it provides a second, disparate perspective of David's capital from antiquity. Consequently, in holding up the Chronicler's depiction of David's Jerusalem alongside that portrait rendered in Samuel-Kings, the historian is afforded the uncommon opportunity to observe how literary memories of David's capital were negotiated and reframed within a second, later text from the ancient world.

The Chronicler's bold decision to redress certain stories contained within a more venerable literary work prompts this chapter to attend closely to this scribe's approach toward recounting a past already once told in the books of Samuel-Kings, and to determine, more precisely, how this new, written account remembered David's capital differently.³ To do so, I follow the path established by many others in comparing the texts devoted to David's reign in Samuel-Kings with that of Chronicles in an effort to observe what past the Chronicler desired to preserve from older written accounts, what past this scribe attempted to expunge, and what past was created anew. My investigation into the relationship between these two narrative works departs somewhat from common analyses of these biblical books, however, by also considering the influence of place on the Chronicler's interpretive framework. A central argument of this chapter is that a literary analysis of the Chronicler's redress of Jerusalem's Davidic past in Samuel-Kings must take

into account the appearance and character of that Jerusalem with which the Chronicler was so familiar and so concerned.⁴

A crucial point of deliberation for this chapter's study of David's Jerusalem is consequently the evidence that pertains to that Jerusalem experienced by the Chronicler. Accordingly, in a manner similar to the previous discussion of David's Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings, this chapter's investigation begins by first situating the Chronicler's narrative within a particular historical setting so as to consider those possible influences that contributed toward the distinct portrait of David's Jerusalem found within the Chronicler's work.

3.1 DAVID'S JERUSALEM AND CHRONICLES: THE SETTING OF ITS COMPOSITION

Nearly unanimously, the history of interpretation concerning the book of Chronicles before the modern era attributed its authorship to Ezra, and saw within the books of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah a lengthy work written by this biblical figure for the postexilic community. Even as later scholarship engaged Chronicles more critically, the intimate link between Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles was affirmed, with the creation of all three works being linked to a common scribe whose identity, at moments, was shifted to the anonymous Chronicler.⁵ By the mid-twentieth century, however, new proposals were put forward regarding the date of the text and the identity of its creator that resisted the seamless connection between Chronicles and that of Ezra/Nehemiah.⁶ Though not as fractious as the dating and authorship of the Book of Samuel, views on the date of Chronicles's composition varied from the period following Cyrus's edict in 538 BCE, to that of the rise of the Hasmoneans in the 2nd century BCE.⁷

An important question within the debate surrounding the date of Chronicles has been the internal unity of the work, and consequently the possibility of various redactions being present within the corpus.⁸ Evidence most often cited for redactional strata within Chronicles are the divergent influences appearing within the text—including both Deuteronomistic⁹ and Priestly¹⁰ concerns and a rather heterogeneous mixture of genres, such as genealogies, cultic specifications, poems, and narrative prose. Yet, rather than attribute the literary complexity of Chronicles to the different perspectives of disparate scribes, a notable majority of recent treatments of Chronicles have argued against the division of the book into different redactions based solely on generic or thematic distinctions. Instead, these treatments of Chronicles have been inclined to argue for the essential integrity of the work and for single authorship, composed by an individual embedded in a particular context in which Deuteronomistic, Priestly, and other traditions were known to and mediated by a particular scribe.¹¹ My own approach to Chronicles will follow in this general orientation toward the book's literary integrity, identifying the narratives concerning David and Jerusalem in 1 Chr 11–29

as essentially the work of one scribe involved in a highly developed reinterpretation of Judah's past.

Regarding the date of the Chronicler's composition, references from the Persian and Hasmonean eras provide important limits to the Chronicler's historical context. The citation of Cyrus's edict within the Chronicler's narrative (2 Chr 36:22–23), for example, provides a solid *terminus post quem* of the Chronicler's work, requiring the Chronicler's composition to be constructed sometime after 538 BCE. Furthermore, purported citations of Chronicles in Eupolemos's lost work, *On the Kings in Judea*, anchor a *terminus ante quem* of the work's composition to the mid-2nd century BCE, as, according to Eusebius, this was the period in which Eupolemos wrote his historical treatise.¹² That 1 Esdras and Ben-Sira, also both dated to the 2nd century BCE, cite references from Chronicles further supports this general time frame.¹³ Given the time necessary for the Greek translation of the Hebrew Vorlage of Chronicles to gain authority and sufficient circulation for these authors to be aware of it, the composition of Chronicles would, then, have likely been situated in a time no later than the mid-to-late 3rd century BCE. Establishing these limits nevertheless leaves possible a gap of nearly three centuries (late 6th–late 3rd centuries BCE) for Chronicles to have been composed, and it is within this time frame that recent discussions have attempted to provide a more precise date for the Chronicler's setting.

Within these studies, evidence pertaining to the Chronicler's historical context has also been isolated from references embedded within the work itself. First, the language employed by the Chronicler is Late Biblical Hebrew,¹⁴ with the presence of a small number of Persian loan words (1 Chr 26:18; 1 Chr 28:11; 1 Chr 29:7) supporting a postexilic provenance for its composition. One anachronism that does appear in the Chronicler's narrative is the allusion to a Persian coin, the *daric*, identified as part of the contributions to the Temple fund during David's reign (1 Chr 29:7). Created and distributed during the reign of Darius I, the date for the minting of this coin can be situated ca. 515 BCE. Allowing for a period of time in which this currency could be circulated throughout the Persian Empire and within the province of Yehud, the date of Chronicles can thus be pushed back to around the early 5th century BCE.¹⁵ The dearth of corresponding Hellenistic anachronisms in the work would appear once again to preclude a setting for the Chronicler's composition after the mid-to-late 3rd century BCE.¹⁶

More subtle textual allusions in Chronicles also contribute toward this discussion. The Chronicler's acquaintance with a near canonical form of Samuel-Kings, for example, places some temporal distance between the two literary works.¹⁷ So also the nuanced depiction in Chronicles of cultic institutions in Jerusalem, and the heightened concern for delineating and justifying a particular vision of priestly and Levitical duties, speaks to a context in which the Second Temple had likely become a more highly developed cultic center, or a time somewhat later in the Persian period.¹⁸ Additionally, the genealogy of Jehoiachin in 1 Chr 3:17–24, and particularly

the verses devoted to Zerubbabel's heirs, forms an important intimation of the Chronicler's composition. Though a notoriously problematic passage because of various text-critical and syntactical difficulties (the LXX offers an additional four generations to that of the MT), scholars cite between five and fourteen generations listed after Zerubbabel, with at least two generations being certain (the sons of Meshullam and Hananiah, grandsons of Zerubbabel). Favoring the more conservative interpretation, a figure of five generations listed after Zerubbabel in the MT still places the Chronicler's setting in an early 4th century BCE context, with the LXX pushing these figures back nearly a century.¹⁹

The archaeological evidence pertaining to Jerusalem and the Persian province of Yehud, though relatively sparse, also favors the emerging consensus among recent scholarship that places Chronicles within a 4th–early 3rd century BCE setting. Particularly important is Jerusalem's status vis-à-vis Samaria during this time. While material remains from the region indicate that demographic and economic recovery from the Babylonian invasion was quite stunted in the province of Yehud and occurred only gradually over the 6th–3rd centuries BCE,²⁰ the province of Samaria to the north appears to have been both more stable and prosperous during these centuries.²¹ The existence of a Yahwistic temple and cult in Samaria after the mid-5th century BCE, and Jerusalem's distressed state and small size in comparison to its more northern counterpart, would have all provided significant motivation for the creation of a new literary work fervent in its support of Jerusalem's traditional, authoritative role in the political and religious life of the highland region.²² Such evidence would provide further, indirect support for locating the composition of this work in 4th–3rd century BCE context when tensions between leadership in Jerusalem and Samaria would have begun to become strained. In light of these considerations, my study here locates the composition of Chronicles sometime in the late Persian/early Hellenistic era,²³ or a period removed from a Davidic past by approximately six hundred years.

3.2 SECOND TEMPLE JERUSALEM BEFORE THE HASMONEANS: THE 4TH–3RD CENTURIES BCE

The Chronicler's detailed knowledge of and explicit interest in Jerusalem suggests that this late Persian/early Hellenistic scribe was intimately familiar with the city.²⁴ What the Chronicler would have encountered when visiting or living within this location was a highland settlement situated within the timeworn remnants of a once-prominent capital city, with the evidence of its wholesale destruction centuries before preserved in the ruins and weaponry never fully purged from the site.²⁵ Indeed, relics of Jerusalem's vaunted Iron Age past would have been embedded throughout the location's landscape during the Chronicler's era. Rising to the west above the City of David and

Temple Mount, the once-vibrant neighborhood located on the Western Hill of the late Iron Age capital was fully abandoned in the Chronicler's day,²⁶ and the sight of burned homes and destroyed buildings, ever more dilapidated with the passing of the centuries separating the Chronicler from the Babylonian invasion, would have been a haunting reminder of Jerusalem's downfall for those who now found their way into the city. The few constructions rebuilt on the Temple Mount during this era, it appears, were also only a poor replacement of the impressive palace-temple complex known in the 8th–6th centuries BCE, with Haggai's description of the modest second temple and his words to his contemporaries offering an indication of the melancholy it evoked from the populace: "Who among you remains who saw the temple in its former glory? And what you see now—is it not as nothing in your eyes? (Hag 2:3)"²⁷

In light of the important relationship between place and memory, what is significant about the Chronicler's Jerusalem is that the location would have continued to bear the deep scars of its Babylonian destruction over two hundred years before. The city's impoverished status in the 4th–3rd centuries BCE served, in fact, as a testament to Babylonian and later Persian policy disinclined toward permitting Jerusalem to reestablish itself as a significant political and cultural center in the former Judahite realm. The initial decision by the Babylonians to raze Jerusalem should not, then, be seen as an impulsive act of retaliation against a rebellious foreign capital, but rather as a calculated political decision systematically undertaken in order to prevent the location from once again exerting its cultic, political, and cultural power in the highlands. According to biblical tradition (2 Kgs 25:8; Jer 54:12) approximately one month passed between the conquest of the city and its conflagration, enough time, in other words, to empty the city of its inhabitants and remove any plunder the Babylonians desired.²⁸ Archaeological evidence from the site supports the biblical perspective of these events, with few luxury items and no human remains found beneath the collapsed buildings of the late Iron Age city, even in Jerusalem's wealthier and more populated neighborhoods.²⁹ The destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians therefore appears to have been an orderly one, intentionally undertaken in order to lay waste to meaningful cultic and administrative spheres of the city and carried out in such a way as to prevent the location from fostering any more rebellious activity for the foreseeable future—an objective Nebuchadnezzar's army accomplished with brutal efficiency.

Jerusalem's destruction by the Babylonians precipitated a pronounced demographic and political crisis within the kingdom of Judah that continued for three centuries. The reason for the Judahite kingdom's collapse after the Babylonian invasion can be attributed in many ways to Jerusalem's pre-eminent status in the late Iron Age: as detailed in the previous chapter, the Jerusalem of the late Iron Age was a city transformed by its integration into the Assyrian empire as the nexus of all things Judahite, a capital containing the most important economic, political, and religious institutions of the

kingdom and housing those elites who oversaw these significant Judahite sectors. Jerusalem's primacy in the late Iron Age was consequently Judah's undoing in the centuries that followed.³⁰ Utterly dependent on its capital, the destruction of Jerusalem occasioned the disintegration of Judah from a *de facto* city-state into a decentralized and de-urbanized region of humble villages and small towns.³¹

The archaeological evidence pertaining to the Neo-Babylonian period following Jerusalem's fall paints a troubled portrait of the highland region. With no central leadership in Jerusalem and its army defeated, the line of southern Negev fortresses built in the late Iron Age were overrun by factions to Judah's south and east composed primarily of Edomite and seminomadic groups from the Arabah region;³² to the west, Judah lost its small holdings in the Shephelah as the Babylonians marched toward the Mediterranean, with Lachish, the central city of this area, being destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar's army.³³ Hebron, Arad, and Beersheba, all prominent sites to Jerusalem's south and southwest, were transformed after the Babylonian invasion into foreign cities populated by individuals from regions outside Judah, settlements that, tellingly, were later included in the province of Idumea rather than Yehud in the Persian Empire. Those Judahites left in the region after Babylon's invasion appeared to migrate north to the area of Benjamin, where the new administrative center of Mizpah was established by the Babylonians to oversee the affairs of those Judahites who remained in the highlands.³⁴

The demographic data available from the late Persian/early Hellenistic period is most dramatic for Jerusalem and its environs, and attests to the success of the Babylonian policy to render Jerusalem utterly impotent. The capital city and the region immediately around it (those farms, villages, and fortresses located within three kilometers of the site) saw the total area of its inhabited space reduced from ca. one hundred hectares to a little over ten during Persian rule, with a corresponding decrease in population from ca. eight to ten thousand inhabitants to less than three thousand.³⁵ Even more, such figures correspond to a period of some recovery in the region during the 5th–3rd centuries BCE, thus suggesting that in the years immediately following the destruction of the capital, the district of Jerusalem suffered an even greater demographic loss than the numbers above would indicate. The dearth of affluent tombs around the city or material evidence of wealth or prestige further supports this perspective of Jerusalem as a destitute site of few inhabitants in those decades immediately after its destruction.³⁶

Jerusalem's devastation by the Babylonians was mirrored by a notable 72% decline in the inhabited space within Judah proper, a demographic upheaval that affected Judah's east, south, and west most severely.³⁷ The only regions of stability in Judah appear to have been in the northern Judean hills running south of Jerusalem to Beth-Zur,³⁸ and the area of Benjamin to Jerusalem's north—though the latter saw a notable decrease in settled area during the course of the Persian period.³⁹ Cautious estimates place

the decline in Judah's population after the Babylonian invasion, whether from war or exile, from about 110,000 inhabitants to around 30,000.⁴⁰ The destruction of Jerusalem was, as Liverani notes, the culmination of an era in the region of Judah and the end of a cultural and political moment that had begun six centuries earlier with the disintegration of the Late Bronze Age palatial society: "It was the end of an epoch, the end of a world, something that traditional history books are unable to adequately convey, but was indeed a crucial historical event, since the crisis of identity became in its turn the starting point of a new trajectory."⁴¹ The time of semi-autonomous, local Levantine kingdoms was now over: by the Chronicler's day, the sun had set on the Iron Age. It was the dawn of a new era of empires in the Levant.

When the historian returns to the northern Judean highlands a few centuries after Jerusalem's destruction and visits the Yehud of the Chronicler, the consequences of the Babylonian invasion remain etched into the small, rural province now under the control of the Persian Empire. Demographic recovery in the province of Yehud during the Persian period can be assumed, but what growth took place is muted and most likely occurred within small, unwallled village sites.⁴²

The Persians, as with the Babylonians before them, did not aspire for Jerusalem to become a robust urban location capable of fomenting dissent against their rule, and thus did little, initially, to encourage its restoration. Rather, the settlement size and location of Yehudite sites during this era represents a mostly rural, modestly populated region loosely administrated

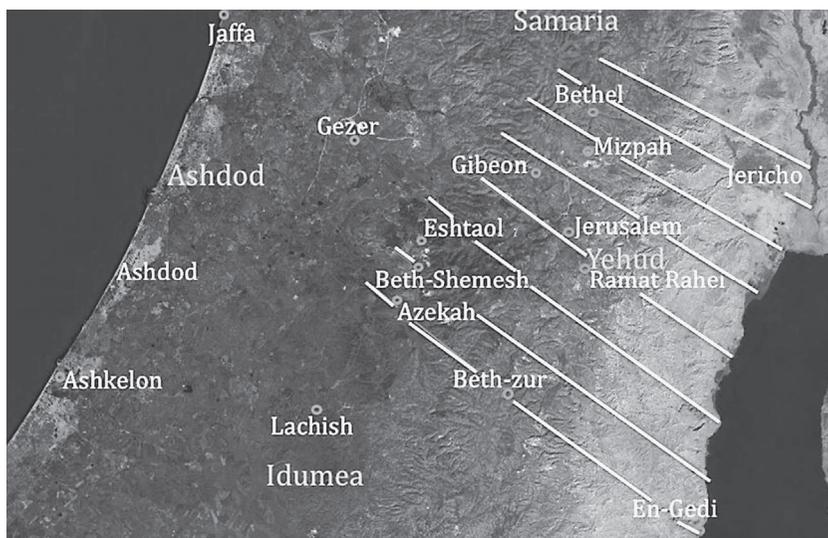


Figure 3.1 Persian Province of Yehud

by the Persian empire, an area devoted primarily to the production of grain, oil, and wine in order to help feed and finance Persia's extensive realm.⁴³

With the beginning of the 4th century BCE, however, the Persians became more active in the administrative affairs of the southern Levant. Egyptian attempts, with intermittent success, at gaining independence, coupled with Phoenician and Cypriot rebellions, brought Persia's armies into a sustained engagement with bellicose factions in the eastern Mediterranean region.⁴⁴ Having an important series of road networks leading through the Beer-sheba/Arad valleys and the Shephelah, the southern Levant found itself as an important region and buffer zone between Persia and its enemies to the west during the Achaemenid empire's last century of rule.⁴⁵ Lachish was likely rebuilt during this time as a Persian administrative center,⁴⁶ and the Beersheba/Arad region, having preserved an impressive amount of Aramaic ostraca detailing receipts of supplies used to support the garrison troops within their fortresses, appears to have also contained a notable Persian presence.⁴⁷

While conflicts erupted along the periphery of Yehud, no evidence exists, however, for Yehudite collaboration with rebellious contingents along the Levantine coast or for military incursions into the small highland area.⁴⁸ In contrast to an unstable eastern Mediterranean region periodically in revolt against Persian rule, the material culture of Yehud and Jerusalem illustrate a notable degree of continuity from the early Persian to early Hellenistic eras that points toward a time of general tranquility within the province.⁴⁹

Permitting its walls to be rebuilt,⁵⁰ its own coinage minted,⁵¹ and simplifying the collection of its agricultural commodities,⁵² increased Persian attention toward Jerusalem as a provincial capital in the late 5th/early 4th century BCE likely corresponded to an Achaemenid policy of heightened control of the inland provinces of the Levant.⁵³ The Jerusalemite priesthood benefitted most from this administrative structure, gaining greater prominence by overseeing the affairs of the temple through taxation, a position of authority in Jerusalem that appears to have continued unabated in the transition to Ptolemaic rule after Alexander's conquest.⁵⁴ Having neither the power, population, nor political will to resist the trappings of empire as it once did under Assyrian and Babylonian hegemony, the archaeological and biblical evidence indicate that those priestly leaders in 4th–3rd-century BCE Jerusalem focused their attention predominantly inward toward more parochial interests. This policy of submitting to imperial rule and attending to local affairs was, in the end, a successful one: by the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, after a hundred years of Ptolemaic control in the region, Yehud began to recover—and Jerusalem with it.⁵⁵

Before this period of growth in the 2nd century BCE, however, what emerges from the archaeological record of the 4th–3rd century is a humble cultic and administrative center at Jerusalem oriented toward the local interests of a pastoral highland province less than half the size of its late Iron Age



Figure 3.2 Persian Provinces in the Achaemenid Era

predecessor. The parallels between late Persian/early Hellenistic Jerusalem and that city of the early 10th century BCE to be examined in chapters four to five of this study are consequently quite significant: both settlements were concentrated within the narrow ridge of the City of David below the Temple Mount;⁵⁶ neither settlement produced monumental architecture that can be unequivocally linked to the period in question;⁵⁷ the material culture of both these Jerusalems have been adversely affected by the absence of a clear destruction layer; both settlements were overbuilt and its material reused by the much larger cities that succeeded them (the cities of the late Iron Age and the Hasmoneans);⁵⁸ and, consequently, historical reconstructions of both

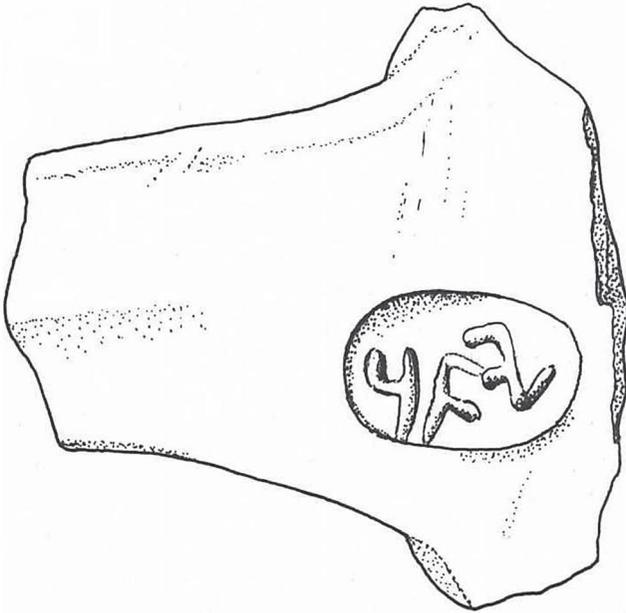


Figure 3.3 Persian-Period Stamp Impression Inscribed with “Yehud.”

Jeruselems suffer from discrepancies between the archaeological evidence of the sites and their description in the biblical corpus.

A point of consensus regarding the history of late Persian/early Hellenistic Jerusalem is that the city of this period was of a limited nature, drastically reduced in size and population from its late Iron Age antecedent.⁵⁹ The settled area and population estimates for this Jerusalem vary to a small extent, but all projections express the modest nature of the city. Israel Finkelstein, offering the most stunted figures, maintains that the pre-Hasmonean settlement occupied only a two to two and a half hectare area along the center ridge of the City of David and consequently held a population of around four to five hundred inhabitants (ca. one hundred males).⁶⁰ In separate studies, C. Carter and O. Lipschits provide estimates of around five to six hectares of settled space within this Jerusalem, extending the limits of the settlement further south and north within the City of David from Finkelstein's projection.⁶¹ Their population estimates of 1250–1500 inhabitants,⁶² though more generous than Finkelstein's, nevertheless still convey a sense of the diminished population of the city in comparison to the much larger and more populous late Iron Age capital.

Wider disagreement regarding late Persian/early Hellenistic Jerusalem, however, centers on whether this small settlement was refortified and

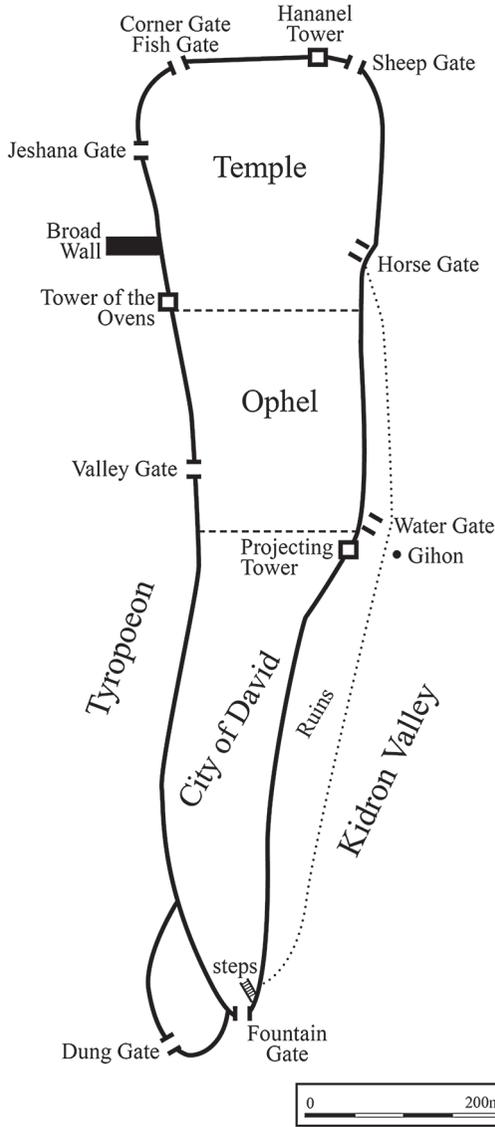


Figure 3.4 Reconstruction of Main Settlement Area of Persian-Period Jerusalem According to Nadav Na'aman

enclosed by a city wall.⁶³ The biblical sources regarding the rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls after the Babylonian destruction of the city are of one accord: the detailed description of the rampart's reconstruction in Neh 3, along with the references from Ezra-Nehemiah concerning the wall's importance for the political affairs and identity of Yehud (Ezr 9:9; Neh 2:8-17;

4:1–2, 5:16; 6:1–15; 7:1) leave a strong impression of the wall's existence by the 4th century BCE.

The archaeological evidence from this period nevertheless complicates this perspective. Efforts by Kenyon to attribute a small segment of a wall in the City of David to the Persian period have proved unconvincing,⁶⁴ and no other clear traces of an enclosure from the Persian era have been recovered in the many excavations carried out in the city. Arguments that such a wall would have been constructed only around the small settlement on the City of David and Temple Mount (and thus destroyed and built over in subsequent generations) suffer from both a lack of evidence and the large number of city gates said to be rebuilt in the book of Nehemiah.⁶⁵ As maintained by Ussishkin, the wall's detailed description in Nehemiah pertains better, rather, to repairs made to the former late Iron Age enclosure damaged during the Babylonian destruction of the site.⁶⁶ Yet the absence of archaeological evidence attesting to the reconstruction of this late Iron Age wall in the Persian period again complicates a seamless acceptance of this theory. Finkelstein's objections to a wall's existence during this period on purely archaeological grounds thus merits serious consideration, though attempts at then explaining the detailed accounts of the rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls scattered throughout the book of Nehemiah prove more vexing.⁶⁷

A helpful response to this tension between text and archaeology is provided in Wright's detailed analysis of the compositional history of Nehemiah.⁶⁸ Central to Wright's discussion of the textual growth of the book of Nehemiah is the premise that, on the basis of internal literary considerations and a comparison with other commemorative building inscriptions from the ancient Near East, the earliest literary strata of Nehemiah likely originated in what approximated a brief building report or inscription in Jerusalem.⁶⁹ The remnants of this early building report, located in Neh 1:1a, 11b; 2:1–6*, 11, 15–18*; 3:38;* and 6:15, would then have been expanded into its present form by later writers reflecting back on Nehemiah's story.⁷⁰ Significant about Wright's proposal for my purposes here is not only the historical implications of an initial building report being located in Jerusalem (which Wright links to a historical Nehemiah), but that the building activity described within this early text was of a very limited character. Completed in fifty-two days (Neh 6:15), and without explicit financial or material support from Persian leadership to refortify Jerusalem for imperial military/strategic purposes, what restoration occurred to Jerusalem's walls during this time, Wright argues on the basis of this early text, was little more than "removing the ruins and making a few repairs"⁷¹ to the former Iron Age enclosure. The purpose of this initial rebuilding activity was then not to reposition Jerusalem as a secure, defensive highland city of strategic import, but was permitted by Artaxerxes in order to garner increased loyalty from a province that held Jerusalem in high esteem and desired to have the former capital recover from the political humiliation of having many of its civic structures still in ruins well over a century after its Babylonian destruction.⁷²

Attractive about Wright's study is the support it lends to the theory that Jerusalem's walls only received modest attention in the Persian era. The description of those rebuilding efforts surrounding the construction of this enclosure within the earliest written traditions of Nehemiah would thus offer a further, textual argument for why more substantial remains of "Nehemiah's Wall" have not been recovered by archaeologists: namely, that the building measures enacted during Nehemiah's stay in Jerusalem were likely very limited in nature, completed in a short period of time so as to remove heavier rubble from the fortification line and to repair a few breaches (likely reusing Iron Age material) within it. This perspective of Nehemiah's rebuilding efforts would accordingly favor the argument proposed by Ussishkin in locating this wall along the lines established by the former late Iron Age enclosure.⁷³ The line of quarrying activity dated to the Persian period on the eastern slope of the City of David, and the abandonment of certain structures and areas outside of this line during this time, suggests, however, that on the eastern edge of Jerusalem this wall may have been moved further up slope and to the west in the City of David along the line of the so-called "First Wall."⁷⁴

Small and impoverished, the Jerusalem of this time exhibits few signs of wealth or prestige. Lipschits comments on the material conditions of this Jerusalem and Yehud as a whole:

the poor province [of Yehud] with its nominated governors did not acquire the means, the ability and perhaps not even the permission to undertake building projects in Jerusalem or in any other urban centre in the land. The lack of skilled artisans during the Persian period in every field of the economy, administration and daily life is one of its prominent characteristics. The inferior building techniques, the shabby quality of the pottery, and the seals that probably were also a result of the lack of raw materials and the need to reuse existing resources such as building stones and metals, or to use inexpensive substitutes, are all expressions of this situation of the Persian-period material culture.⁷⁵

The more restricted area of the settlement in Jerusalem and the poor condition of its building materials have complicated archaeological efforts, and few domestic or public structures can be connected to this period in time. In Shiloh's Area G, a number of modest terrace walls and a few floor surfaces were ascribed to Stratum 9 (Shiloh's Persian period stratum),⁷⁶ and the ruins of the Iron Age Ashlar House in Area E West appears to have been reused by returnees to the site in the early Persian period. Two *tabuns* located next to the remains of this building perhaps indicate that these ruins, or others, were inhabited during this era without further additions or rebuilding activity, though evidence of quarrying activity nearby indicate that some buildings in the more central location of the settlement may have been reconstructed in this era.⁷⁷ Further east in Area E, a section of the Iron Age city was given

over to agricultural usage at this time, thus providing further evidence that the Persian/early Hellenistic settlement had receded further up slope in this area of Jerusalem.⁷⁸

Images of squatters living in the ruins of former Iron Age residences, of refugees returning to ramshackle structures, and of parts of Jerusalem turned into farmland come to dominate the overall portrait of Jerusalem throughout the Persian period and into the early Hellenistic era. What is striking about this impoverished and dilapidated highland site, however, are the many ancient texts that attest to activity taking place within it. Such writings are comprised not only of the abundant biblical references to events transpiring within this Jerusalem in Ezra-Nehemiah, for example, but also in the notable amount of Persian era stamp impressions recovered from the City of David, particularly in the area of the Ophel, and an ostrakon citing administrative details at the site.⁷⁹ Even if not found *in situ*, the number of epigraphic finds dateable to the Persian era do give an indication of the location's significance during this time, particularly in matters of administrative and cultic affairs.⁸⁰

Alongside these writings are the Elephantine Papyri from Egypt. Included in a number of these manuscripts are appeals to Jerusalemite authority from Jewish settlements in Egypt that, evidently, contained populations that still held Jerusalem in some esteem in the late 5th–early 4th centuries BCE.⁸¹ Such foreign texts indicate that though the Chronicler would have experienced a distressed provincial settlement at the far edges of the Persian Empire, this scribe nevertheless also experienced a Jerusalem that still performed some meaningful cultic and administrative tasks for those that claimed Yehudite or Jewish identity. From this perspective, even if the Chronicler's Jerusalem was a depleted Levantine outpost much diminished from its height during the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah, a sense of its former authority in the highlands likely endured.

In stepping back from this reconstruction of the Chronicler's Jerusalem, what stands out from this historical investigation is the great disconnect that emerges between the poor physical character of the modest settlement attested to in the archaeological record and those claims made about its significance within texts written during this time. The intent of the following is to enter into the narrative world of David's Jerusalem present in Chronicles so as to examine how the relationship between place and memory may have influenced the Chronicler's description of Jerusalem's Davidic past.

3.3 THE CHRONICLER AND THE NARRATIVE WORLD OF DAVID'S JERUSALEM

The Chronicler's portrayal of David's Jerusalem was not eschatological or utopian in orientation, but was instead grounded in a concrete past of geographical space and chronological time that the Chronicler developed on the

basis of written sources. In the Chronicler's retelling, the reigns of David and Solomon in Jerusalem are certainly lionized, and the preexilic temple takes on a heightened significance in David's reign not realized in Samuel-Kings, but never did the Chronicler portray the physical spaces of Jerusalem with the otherworldly or mythic characterizations present in other contemporaneous works of the postexilic period (e.g. Is 60; Zech 14:8–10) and those subsequent to it in the centuries that followed.⁸² Revisions and new material were clearly introduced into the Chronicler's portrayal of David's capital,⁸³ but a basic outline of the past known to the Chronicler's audience through previous literary traditions was followed, even when doing so went against the Chronicler's own inclination.⁸⁴ The pious David, to cite an example, makes extensive preparations for the temple not recorded in Samuel-Kings, but he is not the king who builds the new sanctuary in the Chronicler's story (1 Chr 17; 22:7–10); the transfer of the ark into Jerusalem is described with exquisite liturgical detail in Chronicles not found in other written traditions, but the Chronicler's David, as in 2 Sam 6:6–15, still requires two attempts to successfully accomplish the task (1 Chr 13, 15).

The Book of Chronicles was thus constructed within certain constraints imposed by the sources on which it was dependent and limited by the cultural memories of the past still present among the community in which it was composed. As such, the Chronicler's tale appears to have been prohibited from erasing certain "core" memories of Israel's past, even if familiar stories and scenes were frequently reframed in order to reshape an audience's understanding of what once took place in their community's past. Thus, though the Chronicler could not excise well-known features of the past present in Yehud's collective memory, the Chronicler could provide another narrative lens through which to view this past and reinterpret its significance.⁸⁵

The following will explore the literary portrayal of David's Jerusalem in order to investigate features of the Chronicler's work central to this scribe's redress of Yehud's story. Two thematic considerations will guide this discussion, united in scope by the Chronicler's deep concern for the Davidic monarchy and temple,⁸⁶ and united in technique by the fluid, imaginative reconfiguration of narrative time within these stories: David's Jerusalem as the City of the King and David's Jerusalem as the City of the Future Temple.

3.3.1 David's Jerusalem as the City of the King

One of the most prominent literary themes of Chronicles is the profound connection between King David and the Jerusalem he established. For eighteen chapters (1 Chr 11–29) David directly oversees a large number of affairs within the city he founded, carefully organizing its political and cultic spheres before handing them over to the young Solomon in a magnanimous public display of authority (1 Chr 28–29) wholly opposed to the depiction of David's last years in the book of Kings (1 Kings 1–2).⁸⁷

This representation of the relationship between king and city is particularly significant when set alongside the much more ambiguous affiliation between David and Jerusalem present in Samuel-Kings. Though Jerusalem, as discussed in the previous chapter, clearly played a central role in David's kingship within these older texts—with the link between city and king reaching its apogee in Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7—only in a few isolated instances did the scribes behind this work actually depict David as being actively involved in the life of the city (2 Sam 5:9–11; 6:12–23; 11:1–4; 24:15–25). In fact, as argued extensively in the previous chapter, after the Bathsheba affair (2 Sam 11–12), the remainder of David's story finds the king mostly aloof from the happenings in his capital, unaware of the conspiracies being formed against him by the city gate (2 Sam 15) or of the struggle for his throne reverberating outside the city walls (1 Kgs 1).

Time and again, the Chronicler erases these images of a distant and ineffectual king living in a murky, divided Jerusalem. Instead, David is portrayed in Chronicles as a ruler who diligently oversees a powerful, united capital whose dominion is bound up with the recognition of David's authority by those who abide within it. The Chronicler makes no reference to the traditions suggesting earlier Israelite engagement with the city before David's reign (Josh 15:63; 19:10–12; Judges 1:8, 21; 1 Sam 17:54), and no narrative space is devoted to David's life before he appears at his coronation at Hebron, just one verse prior to his advance on Jerusalem (1 Chr 11:3). Accordingly, the story of David for the Chronicler was *essentially* the story of his kingship over Jerusalem, the only true capital of “the kingdom of Yhwh” (1 Chr 13:8) where the “throne of Yhwh” resided (1 Chr 28:5, 29:23). And, conversely, the story of Jerusalem began only with the founding of the Davidic dynasty. For the Chronicler, there was no story of David without Jerusalem, and no Jerusalem without David having established it.

The centrality of Jerusalem for David's story emerges with astonishing speed in the Chronicler's narrative. In Samuel, twenty chapters are given over to David's life before his advance on Jerusalem (1 Sam 16–2 Sam 4); in Chronicles it takes four verses (1 Chr 10:14–11:3). The second scene of David's life, and his first act as king, thus takes the form of an exceptional feat in Chronicles that illustrated the new ruler's formidable might by leading “all Israel” in the conquest of an imposing city (1 Chr 11:5–9).⁸⁸ By exploiting the narrative possibility of rearranging the sequential framework of the textual traditions in Samuel, the Chronicler's placement of the capture of Jerusalem at the beginning of David's life and reign thus allowed for the aggrandizement of the figure of David in a manner that also emphasized the centrality of the city for David's kingship,⁸⁹ enabling the Chronicler to begin his nongenealogical story of Judah's past by giving priority to two of this scribe's most prominent themes: King David and the city of Jerusalem. Chronology, in other words, was an element of narrative ideally suited to the Chronicler's ideological convictions and literary technique, and the passing of events in Samuel-Kings could be recast and reorganized by the

Chronicler in order to illustrate a temporal connection that may have been absent, or only implicit, in the scribe's sources.⁹⁰

More than a simple rearrangement of traditions, however, is present in the way in which the Chronicler frames the story of Jerusalem's capture. Subsequent to the conquest of Jerusalem, the Chronicler refocuses his narrative dramatically, passing over the plot lines developed in Samuel-Kings with its attention to the Philistine wars and the ark's transfer to Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:17–6:23). Instead, the short report of Jerusalem's capture is followed in Chronicles by a register of David's warriors (1 Chr 11:10–47//2 Sam 23:8–39) and by lists and anecdotes pertaining to those individuals who were said to have joined David in the past at critical moments in David's rise to power: 1 Chr 12:1–8 (ET 12:1–7), for example, notes the warriors who came to David at Ziklag, 1 Chr 12:9–19 (ET 12:8–18) cites those Gadites, Benjaminites, and Judahites who ventured to David at the "stronghold in the wilderness," and 1 Chr 12:24–41 (ET 12:23–40) names those who came to Hebron to make David king.

What is remarkable about these scenes in 1 Chr 11–12 is the utter abandonment of linear storytelling after Jerusalem's conquest. That is, rather than sequencing his story according to the expectations of chronological progression, the Chronicler instead embarked on a sophisticated form of analepsis:⁹¹ after the story of Jerusalem's capture, the Chronicler "flashes back" to scenes from earlier in David's career at Ziklag and Adullam, and in 1 Chr 12:24–41, the reader suddenly revisits past events at Hebron where certain warriors banqueted for three days (1 Chr 12:39–41)—a reference, ostensibly, to those events that occurred at Hebron in 1 Chr 11:1–3. Thus, only in 1 Chr 13 is the narrative brought back to those happenings in Jerusalem that would have followed the logical sequence of events that occurred after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1 Chr 11:5–9.

Throughout these introductory chapters to David's reign, then, the Chronicler engages in a complex mode of narrative discourse, utilizing both internal and external forms of analepsis in order to return to scenes referred to obliquely at the beginning of the Chronicler's story and to scenes that *only occur in Samuel*.⁹² What this literary technique requires from the audience, then, is that they recall features of David's life known to them through other texts and, at the same time, reconsider the significance of these traditions through the Chronicler's new telling. David's past and those who contributed to his ascent to power are acknowledged obliquely as an essential part of David's life in the Chronicler's tale, but only through the use of flashbacks inserted into the Chronicler's narrative after Jerusalem's takeover. The story of David's life could only begin once the warrior had become king of Jerusalem—regardless of when this event may have occurred in other texts and oral traditions.

The Chronicler's particular accent on the relationship between David and Jerusalem is further registered within the Chronicler's description of the various activities David set out to accomplish within in his new royal center.

Striking differences between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles concerning the accounts of David's building measures in Jerusalem, for example, speak to the heightened connection between king and city developed by the Chronicler, as well as providing tangible illustrations of divine blessing bestowed on Jerusalem's new king.⁹³ New anecdotes concerning David's activities in Jerusalem abound in Chronicles: the Chronicler notes that after David's acquisition of Jerusalem, the king built the city from the Millo "out to the surrounding area"⁹⁴ while Joab "restored the remainder of the city" (1 Chr 11:8); after the defeat of the Philistines, David "built houses for himself in the City of David" (1 Chr 15:1); and, in preparation for the temple, David provided an abundance of iron for the doors and gates of the temple, a large quantity of bronze, and an affluence of cedar logs brought to Jerusalem by the Sidonians and Tyrians (1 Chr 22:3–4)—each detail being an "addition" introduced into the Chronicler's narrative that was not present in the portrayal of Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings. Alongside of David's increased public work projects scattered throughout Jerusalem, the king also makes rigorous preparations for the administration of the temple, indicating expressly where the temple was to be built (1 Chr 22:1), carefully organizing the temple workers who were to administer the cult (1 Chr 23–27), and even handing over a physical, written plan of the temple for the young Solomon to follow (1 Chr 28:11–19).

Equally suggestive of the Chronicler's portrayal of the intimate connection between king and city is the series of public addresses David delivers in Jerusalem.⁹⁵ Significant public speeches are common throughout the narrative works of Joshua-Kings (as well as in other stories from the eastern Mediterranean world),⁹⁶ but though David could be seen in Samuel singing a public dirge for Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam 1:17–27) and offering an extended prayer within his palace (2 Sam 7:18–29), never in Samuel-Kings did David muster the inhabitants of Jerusalem in order to publicly address the welfare of the capital. In Chronicles, however, not only does David speak to various officials and temple staff present in Jerusalem so that he might provide them guidance in how to carry out their tasks (1 Chr 22:17–19; 23:4–5, 25–32), but the king also gathers the entire populace together in order to transfer the ark into Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:3) and for the sake of commending Solomon as king in an extended public farewell before David's death (1 Chr 28:1–29:20).

The emphasis on David's public persona in Jerusalem appears to have held a twofold purpose. First, the increased prominence given over to David's activities in Jerusalem drew an explicit connection between the king and the flourishing of the city, an accent that underscored an ideology of "king-as-builder" common to ancient Near Eastern understandings of kingship and a theme which remained underdeveloped in the so-called Court History of Samuel-Kings.⁹⁷ But equally important for the Chronicler's accent on the public life of David was the king's deep connection with those gathered in Jerusalem, a populace that, time and again in Chronicles, was

referred to as “all Israel” (1 Chr 11:4; 13:5–6, 8; 15:3, 28; 28:8; 29:21, 23, 25). Thus, throughout these narratives, the identity of those advancing to, abiding with, and acknowledging David as king in Jerusalem are not defined by tribe (Judahites) or city (Jerusalemites), but are rather characterized by the Chronicler’s more frequent, and more meaningful term, “all Israel.”⁹⁸ The point made by the Chronicler was not a subtle one. David’s Jerusalem, much like David himself (1 Chr 11:10–12:40), was a city that, in the past, received the loyalty and assistance of all the tribes and peoples of Israel.⁹⁹ In this sense, it was Jerusalem, and not Shechem, Samaria, or any other rival Israelite city, that was the true capital and nexus of the entity “Israel” in the Chronicler’s retelling. The people who came to celebrate and abide with David in Jerusalem in the Chronicler’s work were accordingly individuals who came from all the territories and tribes of Israel, including what would become, in time, the southern and northern kingdoms.

One scene detailing David’s public persona in Jerusalem is particularly significant for the way in which it casts light on a remarkable feature of the king’s relationship to the people inhabiting his city. After the successful installation of the ark in Jerusalem, the Chronicler relates, in a new scene added onto the narrative of Samuel-Kings, that David appointed Asaph and his kinsmen to sing praises to Yhwh (1 Chr 16:7). Rehearsing a hymn that included portions of Ps 105, 96, and 106 (1 Chr 16:8–36), the closing of the song offered a striking request adapted from Ps 106:47: “Save us, O God of our salvation. *Gather us and deliver us from among the nations* in order to give thanks to your holy name, to glory in your praise” (1 Chr 16:35). For the Chronicler’s postexilic audience who returned to the sparsely settled, provincial Jerusalem, the final sentiments of this song would have been poignant. As Ben Zvi remarks, however, what is particularly noteworthy about this passage is that “from the perspective of the intended and primary readers of Chronicles, David is praying and asking the community of his days to pray for the return of exiles that have not *yet been exiled*.”¹⁰⁰ Yet more than simply introducing a patent anachronism into the Davidic period, the depiction of David authorizing the singing of this particular song reads as a sophisticated literary technique that intentionally interweaves David’s era into that of the Chronicler’s own context.¹⁰¹ Jerusalem’s prayer for the postexilic Yehudite community, in contrast to the use of analepsis in 1 Chr 11–12, is, in other words, a scene oriented toward the future. Though the song sung by Asaph does not interrupt the narrative flow of the ark’s movement to Jerusalem—the hymn accords well with the liturgical scene developed in 1 Chr 16—the words of the song nevertheless reach out beyond the story’s present and gesture toward the Chronicler’s own context, centuries further in time. Through this story, the Chronicler was thus able to represent David’s Jerusalem, and David himself, as a community and king concerned not only with the welfare of their capital, but as a city and king also intimately aware of and sympathetic to the hardships of the future community who would come to inhabit Jerusalem once again.¹⁰² The physical

juxtaposition of the Chronicler's small community atop the ruins of the ancient capital was, in this sense, mirrored by the Chronicler's subtle fusing of his community's past and present in the hymn commissioned by David. In 1 Chr 16, a sense of time had once again been disrupted, but this time proleptically.

The connection between Jerusalem's past and future is also intimated through the Chronicler's depiction of the Davidic covenant. Following closely the story of Yhwh's blessing of the House of David in 2 Sam 7 (1 Chr 17:12–14//2 Sam 7:13, 16), the Chronicler embellished this literary tradition by introducing a number of additional scenes in which David provides further allusions to the divine promise spoken to him through Nathan. In the book of Samuel, Jerusalem's eternal connection to the House of David is alluded to only within David's lifetime during Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7. In Chronicles, on the other hand, the promise is announced by Nathan (1 Chr 17), but is then further voiced by David himself in the king's charge to Solomon (1 Chr 22:10) and in David's farewell speech to his city (1 Chr 28:4, 7). The recounting of Yhwh's eternal commitment to the House of David, reiterated by the king at two new junctures in the Chronicler's narrative, thus reinforced the timeless connection between the House of David and the city of Jerusalem; though the Davidides no longer ruled in the Chronicler's context, the reiterated promise held the hope that someday they would.

The persistence of this affiliation between Jerusalem and the House of David would come to manifest itself perhaps most conspicuously, however, through an omission in the Chronicler's narrative. In a much-commented-on passage in 2 Kgs 23:37 that a majority of scholars trace to an exilic or postexilic hand, Yhwh announces that, on account of Manasseh's sin, the city of Jerusalem, and the temple with it, had been rejected. In Chronicles, this tradition of the rejection of the Davidic covenant was, however, erased altogether, with David promising instead that Yhwh would abide in Jerusalem forever (1 Chr 23:25).¹⁰³ The Chronicler's ideology of Jerusalem and the Davidides simply would not permit the notion that Yhwh had rejected them; instead, the narrative boldly restates the promises of the Davidic covenant over against the failures of the Davidic dynasty related in the Book of Kings.

The Chronicler's portrayal of the relationship between King David and the city he established forms a prominent departure from the more ambiguous affiliation between king and city developed in Samuel-Kings. In the Chronicler's retelling, David's Jerusalem was a city diligently ruled over by its king, a capital whose identity was bound up with the life and undertakings of the pious David who founded it as his center of power. Within this particular perspective of David's capital, the Chronicler thus attempted to rectify the uncertain relationship between Jerusalem and the vulnerable King David found in the Chronicler's sources, compensating for these memories by providing a decidedly different view of the connection between David and his capital city. What emerged through this revision was a portrait of Jerusalem

as a harmonious capital assiduously overseen by a confident, strong, and faithful David. When the time comes for David's reign to end and Solomon's to begin, it is not surprising, then, that the Chronicler again focuses in on David's Jerusalem, describing a festive celebration in the capital in the narrative moments just prior to David's death (1 Chr 29:21). David's reign in Jerusalem could only end in abundance and blessing.

3.3.2 David's Jerusalem as the Future Temple City

Alongside the important relationship between king and city, a second theme from the Chronicler's work that finds significance here regarding David's Jerusalem is the construction and administration of the future temple. For nearly half of David's reign (1 Chr 22:1–29:19) the Chronicler devotes enormous narrative energy to portrayals of the king's preparations for the temple in Jerusalem, offering detailed, extended descriptions of the provisions undertaken by David that find no parallels in Samuel-Kings. In the previous chapter, it was seen that the scribes behind Samuel-Kings also wrestled with the tradition that Solomon, rather than Jerusalem's first king, had built Jerusalem's temple, going so far as to include extended speeches by both Nathan and David (2 Sam 7) that attempted to address this grave disconnect between king and cult. One of the more remarkable features of the story of David's kingship in Samuel-Kings, however, was the decision not to further amend this disconcerting feature of David's reign. Instead, the prohibition levied against David's involvement in the building of a temple for Yhwh was preserved by the scribes of Samuel-Kings, even though, it was argued, the lack of temple building violated one of the central ideological tenets of kingship in the ancient Near East.¹⁰⁴ The Chronicler, confronted by the strength of the memories surrounding David's failure to build a temple, did not endeavor to erase these traditions. But the Chronicler did go to great lengths to reshape the way in which this relationship between temple and king was to be remembered. In response to the absence of David's participation in the construction of the temple in Samuel-Kings, the Chronicler thus embarked on one of the most creative revisions to older memories pertaining to Jerusalem's past: David as the architect and supplier of the future Jerusalem temple.

In Chronicles, David's Jerusalem was a city that found itself on an unyielding course toward the building of its temple. Evidence for the Chronicler's increased attention toward this theme begins early in the story of the ark's transfer to Jerusalem. Though in Chronicles, as in Samuel, the first attempt at transferring the ark followed closely upon David's conquest of Jerusalem (1 Chr 13:1–14//2 Sam 6:1–19), notable omissions from Samuel, only to be taken up later in the Chronicler's story, are evident in the Chronicler's particular retelling of David's reign: the appearance of Hiram's envoy sent to build David a palace in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:11), the birth of children born to David in the new capital (2 Sam 5:13–16), and an account of David's

defeat of the Philistines (2 Sam 5:17–25) were all reorganized in Chronicles, appearing within the Chronicler's narrative only after David's first attempt to bring the ark into Jerusalem. Likely predicated on a reading of the notice in 2 Sam 6:11 that the ark rested at the home of Obed-Edom for three months, the Chronicler ingeniously exploited this pause in the ark's movement into Jerusalem in order to introduce traditions concerning David's palace and family. In doing so, the Chronicler was able to revise an understanding of David's priorities implicit in Samuel-Kings: upon seizing Jerusalem, David's first concern was not his own home and family (as portrayed in 2 Sam 5:11–16), but rather the installation of Israel's preeminent cultic object into its sanctuary.

Rather than disrupting the temporal framework of the story present in Samuel concerning the ark's transfer into Jerusalem, the Chronicler, however, recasts this moment in David's life by only lightly adjusting the chronology of his sources and "filling-in" the gap in time left open in the narrative of Samuel. The judgment to split the account of the ark's transfer in this manner was likely motivated by a scribe who sought to revise the story of the ark's transfer into Jerusalem, but who desired to accomplish this task by manipulating his sources as little as possible. By dividing the story of the ark's transfer into two separate narrative threads, the Chronicler could create narrative space in which he was able to return to David's preparations for life in Jerusalem once the ark had initially come to rest.

Having attended to those traditions concerning David's home and family, the Chronicler then seized upon the second movement of the ark into Jerusalem to render an intricate portrait of a detailed liturgical response to the ark's entrance into David's city completely lacking in Samuel-Kings. Incorporating much of 2 Sam 6 into his narrative, the Chronicler expanded noticeably on these traditions, recreating scenes of a proper Torah-abiding, liturgically-aware advancement of the ark into Jerusalem. In this retelling, the Chronicler was also able to revise the role of the king in the ark's advancement to Jerusalem: though David is depicted as dancing and performing in the ark's procession in Samuel (1 Chr 15:29//2 Sam 6:14),¹⁰⁵ in Chronicles David is also the king who recalls the ancient ordinances in the Torah pertaining to the ark's correct transfer (1 Chr 15:12–15; Num 7:1–9; Deut 10:8), and it is the king who directs the worship and celebration of the cult in Jerusalem once the ark has been successfully housed in the city (1 Chr 16). In rewriting the scene of the ark's successful transfer in this manner, the Chronicler was thus able to develop a more detailed image of the king's function within the Jerusalem cult. In the Chronicler's revision, David had become, effectively, a liturgical leader steeped in the traditions of the past, a characterization of the king-as-priest critical to the Chronicler's development of the role David would play in Jerusalem and in the construction of the temple.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, though Zadok and Abiathar are referred to at the beginning of the ark's procession in 1 Chr 15:11, it was David who summoned them (1 Chr 15:11a), and in the liturgy held on the ark's arrival in

the city (1 Chr 16), Abiathar receives no mention, and Zadok is said to have been removed to Gibeon for the maintenance of the tabernacle there (1 Chr 16:39). In the Chronicler's retelling, then, Jerusalem was a city ruled over by a king fully in command of the administration of the cult—an image of the king as high priest drawn from, and thus in some sense diminishing, the extraordinary depiction of Solomon in 1 Kings 8.

Such allusions to a highly developed and carefully maintained cult in Jerusalem during David's reign, all unique to the Chronicler's narrative, linger as well in the striking additions inserted into the story of David's census that concluded the book of Samuel (2 Sam 24), and that were repositioned to fall sometime in the middle of David's reign in Chronicles (1 Chr 21). In Samuel, the story of David's ill-conceived plan to number his kingdom drew attention to an image of Jerusalem as a city resilient to its king's sin, a location whose value was such that Yhwh prevented the angel of pestilence from afflicting the city in the manner it did the rest of the territory of David's kingdom (2 Sam 24:16). In the Chronicler's reworking of this tradition, the memory of David's sin was allowed to endure,¹⁰⁷ but in preserving the tradition, the Chronicler reframed it in order to develop an essential narrative connection between David and the founding of the temple.¹⁰⁸ The Chronicler's addition to the tale in 2 Sam 24 was subtle but meaningful: in Chronicles, David's sacrifices (2 Sam 24:25) were answered with fire from heaven (1 Chr 21:26), an expansion to the narrative in Samuel that illustrated the significance of the altar by mirroring Yhwh's response to the building of the tabernacle in Lev 9:24. In this sense, Yahweh's theophanic display of fire in Chronicles was presented in order to emphasize the acceptance of the altar as a new holy place, forming a bridge between the cult of Israel's past and its future in Jerusalem and indicating the pertinence of the site for the future temple (1 Chr 22:1).

David's proclamation of where the temple would be built, occurring near the center of the Davidic tales in Chronicles and in many ways acting as the narrative climax to the story of Jerusalem under David's reign, initiates an entirely new trajectory to the Chronicler's narrative that continues until David's death. From the moment David utters his directive in 1 Chr 22:1, the Chronicler orients the following eight chapters of David's life toward the preparation for the building of the temple and the development of the temple's administration. None of these chapters have any parallels in Samuel-Kings; with the location of the temple secured and David's kingship firmly established, the Chronicler embarked on creating an entirely new vision of David's final years as king in Jerusalem from those scenes depicted in Samuel-Kings. In many ways, the Chronicler's new portrayal would depend on a reconfiguration of events in Samuel-Kings as prominent as that undertaken in his retelling of the relationship between king and city: in Chronicles, scenes once attributed to Solomon in the book of Kings, and preparations for the temple assumed to have happened in his reign, are re-projected back in time to David.¹⁰⁹ Ascribing these efforts and achievements

to David instead of Solomon produced a powerful narrative effect in the Chronicler's story: in Chronicles, David's Jerusalem is depicted not simply as the precursor to, but as the catalyst of events yet to come in Solomon's city. Solomon's temple, in other words, could only be constructed because, in some sense, David had already built it.

The period depicted in 1 Chr 22–29 is one of preparation (כּוּן) for Jerusalem. Already in 1 Chr 22:5, the Chronicler announces this theme through the words of David and the observation of the narrator: "David said, 'my son Solomon is young and inexperienced, and the temple that is to be built for the Lord must be made great. . . . I will make preparations (אֲכַיִינָה) for it.' Thus David prepared (וַיִּכּוֹן) [for it] abundantly before his death." The scenes depicting these preparations for the temple are detailed and abundant. David amasses stonecutters from across Israel to begin dressing the stones for the temple (1 Chr 22:2); David acquires material provisions necessary for the remainder of the building (1 Chr 22:3–4); the king assembles and carefully assigns the role of the Levites (1 Chr 23); and then sets about to demarcate the office and functions of the priests (1 Chr 24), musicians (1 Chr 25), gatekeepers (1 Chr 26:1–19), and treasurers (1 Chr 26:20–28) for services in and around the temple. The portrait rendered of Jerusalem in these chapters is remarkable: David's capital is a city transformed into a center filled with contractors and craftsmen, temple administrators and sacerdotal functionaries, all carefully organized and supervised by the king. But perhaps more striking than the details registered in this account is the realization that these impressive measures are undertaken by an elderly David (1 Chr 23:1) for a city in which *no temple yet existed*. Construction on the temple had not even begun.

This peculiar image of Jerusalem's civic life revolving around a nonexistent temple is further enhanced in the Chronicler's depiction of David's final address in 1 Chr 28. Though work on the temple had not yet commenced, David remarks in this speech that a plan (תְּבִינָה) for the sanctuary had nevertheless been delivered to him by the "hand of the Lord" (1 Chr 28:19). The complexity of the diagram is hinted at in the elaborate details of the temple David reads from it (1 Chr 28:11–18) and by the fact that David had to be given special divine hermeneutical insights in order to even understand it.¹¹⁰ Commentators have long noted the parallels the Chronicler draws in this scene between Moses and David, with both elderly leaders receiving plans from Yhwh for the construction of holy precincts (Ex 25:9, 40).¹¹¹ Yet, when this scene is placed among the various images of Jerusalem developed by the Chronicler in the chapters previous to this address, the plan of the temple given to the king further strengthens the impression that David's capital was not merely a location that laid the groundwork for what would become an opulent city under Solomon, but was a site also taking part in this future reality:¹¹² though the Book of Kings reserves its richest descriptions for Solomon's lavish center (1 Kgs 6–8, 10), the Chronicler makes it clear that an abundant amount of ornate items and treasures for the sanctuary (1 Chr

22:2–5, 14–16; 29: 2–9), and even a divine image of the temple itself, were already present in the time of David.

Such anecdotes underscore the importance accorded to David's affiliation with the Jerusalem temple, but also reveal the great lengths to which the Chronicler went to redress the memory embedded in Samuel of David's absence from the sanctuary's construction. Limited by the strong memories concerning this void in David's reign, the Chronicler did not attempt to reattribute the temple's erection and dedication to the life of Jerusalem's first king. But the Chronicler did reshape this narrative, allowing certain events to strongly foreshadow what lay ahead in Jerusalem's future under Solomon. In Chronicles, David's Jerusalem was thus a city that already contained much of the temple's materials, staff, and architectural plan, thereby allowing David's royal center to partake in, however obliquely, the life of that temple ultimately constructed in Solomon's reign. Consequently, when Solomon commences the building of the temple in 2 Chr 3, the story begins with an observation not recorded in the narrative of 1 Kings: "Solomon began to build the Temple of Yhwh in Jerusalem on Mt. Moriah, where Yhwh had appeared to his father *David*, at the place that *David* had designated" (2 Chr 3:1). The Jerusalem temple in Chronicles was never a straightforward creation of Solomon's city; it was also a creation of David's.

Written centuries after the narrative of Samuel-Kings was initially framed, the portrayal of David's Jerusalem in Chronicles both drew on, and yet strikingly diverged from, the character of David's capital rendered in this earlier work. For the Chronicler, David's center was a city intimately connected to the life of its king, a vibrant capital filled by inhabitants from "all Israel" who were ruled over by the very pious and very public David. Walking the streets of this Jerusalem entailed passing by the multiple homes built by David (1 Chr 15:1) and drawing near a cultic precinct carefully maintained by the Levites of the city (1 Chr 16:4; 37–38). Along the paths of the Chronicler's Jerusalem, one would have encountered not only those foreign artisans at work on David's palace (1 Chr 14:1) as depicted in 2 Sam 5:11–12, but also those conscripted laborers engaged in intense preparations for the temple (1 Chr 22:2)—a building whose furnishings and décor were created through the generous donation of David and the charitable giving of the people of Jerusalem (1 Chr 29:2–9). This was a city whose inhabitants were mostly priests and temple administrators living among those neighborhoods restored by Joab (1 Chr 11:8), a Jerusalem that, in David's old age, would carefully nurture the young Solomon and see to the peaceful transition of power into his hands (1 Chr 29:24). In the Chronicler's narrative, the time of Davidic rule was a golden age in Jerusalem's past, a period of peace and prosperity in which the city was not yet tarnished by the misdeeds of failed kings and iniquitous citizens. It was a city all future Jerusalems were to identify with and long for, including the Chronicler's own.

3.4 THE CHRONICLER'S REDRESS OF THE PAST: SOURCES, REVISION, RECLAMATION

A lacuna within the previous chapter's investigation was the absence of a more sustained reflection on how a late Iron Age scribal circle accessed and assessed those sources available to them for their particular portrayal of David's reign in Jerusalem. Though it was argued that these scribes wove older cultural memories of Jerusalem's past into their story, a more precise understanding of where these memories arose and by what method they were incorporated into the narrative of Samuel-Kings remained unaddressed. The reticence expressed there to delve more earnestly into the origins of the sources utilized by these late Iron Age scribes was predicated on the data available: with none of these putative sources extant and much of this material likely being oral in nature, a more detailed description of how the scribes behind Samuel-Kings appraised their sources and appropriated these cultural memories into their work remained beyond the possibilities of historical reconstruction.¹¹³

The situation is much different when turning to the Chronicler's engagement with older source material. A preponderance of evidence from *Chronicles* indicates that the Chronicler had access to and made extensive use of written traditions close to that version of Samuel-Kings preserved in the Masoretic Text,¹¹⁴ thereby allowing the historian, in a limited manner,¹¹⁵ to sit alongside this ancient scribe and observe certain decisions he made when incorporating, foregoing, or creating anew various scenes in relation to those contained in Samuel-Kings.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, beyond those texts included in Samuel-Kings, more subtle allusions to other written traditions are also referred to throughout the Chronicler's portrayal of David's capital, most frequently to those narratives now found in the Pentateuch.¹¹⁷ Access to traditions utilized by the Chronicler thus provides one of the richest opportunities for reflecting on the interpretive techniques of an ancient Hebrew scribe.

A comparison of the Chronicler's representation of David's Jerusalem with that city depicted in Samuel-Kings thus offers important insights into how this past was mediated through a new narrative work composed in the Persian/early Hellenistic era. Most significantly, this juxtaposition illustrates that the Chronicler possessed the conviction, shared by a number of readers who found the Chronicler's work meaningful and who eventually made it canonical, that the story of Judah's past provided in Samuel-Kings required substantial revision.¹¹⁸ The decision to extensively redress the foundational stories of a community's past already widely known through an earlier, venerable text is a remarkable feature of the Chronicler's work,¹¹⁹ and few literary antecedents from antiquity can be cited that equal the Chronicler's bold attempt to both preserve and reshape significant components of an older and authoritative text.¹²⁰ Though Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles from the 1st millennium BCE show slight additions and changes over

time,¹²¹ and while Homer's poems were certainly modified in their transition from predominantly oral to written mediums,¹²² never did these epic poems undergo the type and degree of revisions present in the Chronicler's brazen reinterpretation of Samuel-Kings. Thucydides, to cite a closer generic analog, may have disagreed with Herodotus's method in writing about the past, but it did not lead him to rewrite the history of the Persian Wars.¹²³

If a literary precursor from the ancient Near East can be found for the Chronicler's form of redress, the best candidate may stem from the Hebrew Bible itself and the Book of Deuteronomy. To be sure, a number of significant differences separate the techniques employed in the composition of Deuteronomy and Chronicles, including the fact that Deuteronomy exhibits much less interest than Chronicles in carefully reproducing the stories and narrative trajectory present in its source material (the traditions now in Genesis–Numbers). In addition, a further difference between these two works is the manner in which Deuteronomistic scribes revised other documents (Joshua–2 Kings) outside of the Book of Deuteronomy in order to reflect their own “Deuteronomistic” perspectives. An important divergence between the scribal techniques within Deuteronomy and Chronicles, then, is that Deuteronomistic concerns and language were also written into other literary sources in order to harmonize these accounts with the teachings introduced in Deuteronomy. The willingness of Deuteronomistic scribes to emend texts in Genesis–2 Kings thus marks a significant departure from the Chronicler's interpretive stance toward those written sources used in the composition of Chronicles.

Nevertheless, the recasting of literary traditions known through older documents forms a common bond between the scribes who composed Deuteronomy and Chronicles. Both Van Seters and Knoppers, accordingly, cite the phenomenon of *imatatio* as a basic impulse behind the type of revision present within both literary works.¹²⁴ From this perspective, the Chronicler's attempt to reframe the past through a new narrative lens may be viewed as an act influenced by an older scribal practice already devised by Deuteronomistic scribes, even if the Chronicler's particular manner of revision was quite distinct from that of his literary predecessors. What can be said is that later Jewish works, such as the Book of Jubilees and Enoch, and certain documents found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, illustrate that, after the Chronicler, this manner of revision not only continued within the southern Levant, but flourished.¹²⁵

Within this tradition of *imatatio*, a basic motivation underlying the Chronicler's composition was the desire to redress that past depicted in older, written traditions by inviting an audience to remember these foundational stories differently.¹²⁶ In light of this interest, it is instructive to review how the Chronicler attempted to persuade an audience of this new interpretation of the past before considering why this scribe attempted to do so. The first point to be underscored in this vein is the Chronicler's marked sensitivity toward older, written sources. The large amount of material appropriated

directly from Samuel-Kings into the Chronicler's story and the echoes of other textual traditions from the Pentateuch and Former Prophets reveals a scribe who had an intimate understanding of Yehud's traditional literature and, even more, of a writer who had a pronounced respect for these texts.¹²⁷ The Chronicler, it should be noted, could have adopted a much less conservative stance toward his written sources. Like the later author of Jubilees, for example, the Chronicler could have recounted an utterly new and distinct narrative that made only faint allusions to Yehud's older written traditions. Yet, instead, the Chronicler closely followed the basic narrative trajectory provided in Samuel-Kings and preserved, unadorned, a number of significant events it related. In Chronicles, as in Samuel, David becomes king after the demise of the House of Saul, conquers Jerusalem from the Jebusites, defeats his enemies to the east, west, and north and, with the transfer of the ark, establishes Jerusalem as the cultic center of his kingdom. More telling, the Chronicler often refrained from impugning his sources even when doing so would have advanced the major themes this scribe sought to develop. Thus, David is not depicted as leading the attack on Jerusalem in Chronicles, but rather it is Joab who does so (1 Chr 11:6); David is remembered as a "man of blood" in the Chronicler's tale and is thereby prohibited from building the temple (1 Chr 22:8); and Gibeon remains a legitimate place of worship and sacrifice during David's reign, though the ark had already been housed in Jerusalem (1 Chr 16:39–40). These observations are not meant to give the impression that the Chronicler copied, *ipsissimus verbis*, material directly from Samuel-Kings, but when this scribe did choose to follow the content of earlier sources, he attended to these texts with remarkable care and attention.

An important conclusion that can be drawn from this observation is that the Chronicler's redress of the past was performed by first *preserving and reiterating* a core set of traditions known to the Chronicler's community through the works of Samuel-Kings. In part, this act of appropriating a large amount of material from Samuel-Kings can be attributed to the Chronicler's scribal training, in which earlier texts were memorized, copied, and recopied, with their incorporation into the narrative of Chronicles demonstrating the Chronicler's own scribal knowledge and aptitude for the audience of this work.¹²⁸ In a related sense, the inclusion of significant segments of Samuel-Kings into Chronicles would have also served to legitimize the Chronicler's new retelling. In wake of the more striking alterations the Chronicler would make to certain characters and themes found in Samuel-Kings, it is likely that the Chronicler repeated and confirmed significant features of these older, venerable literary traditions in an effort to keep his bold revision of Yehud's past from being discredited or largely ignored.¹²⁹ A further reason for the Chronicler's preservation of such a prominent component of Samuel-Kings, however, was that no redress of Yehud's past could be accomplished without an appeal to the collective memory of the community for whom it was written. In order to persuade the Chronicler's audience

of a different perspective of the past than that contained in the stories of Samuel-Kings, in other words, the Chronicler first had to return this audience to these very traditions and have them recall those formative cultural memories of Jerusalem's past contained in Yehud's traditional literature. It was only by first inviting his audience to call to mind those tales familiar to them about the Jerusalem of David that the Chronicler could set about to remember this past differently.¹³⁰

Once this appeal had been made to the collective memory of the Chronicler's audience, the most forceful act of redress performed within this new narrative became the series of revisions the Chronicler made to older stories contained in these sources. As detailed in the previous section, the most significant alterations included the many scenes added onto and erased from the Chronicler's source material, and the more subtle literary techniques utilized to manipulate and, at times, undermine the temporal and thematic orientation of events related in Samuel-Kings. An unmistakable result of these revisions was that the Chronicler's story took on a number of unique and unfamiliar features in comparison with the Chronicler's sources, even if many of the broader details remained the same between the literary works. And, by weaving these peculiar, new elements into an older, familiar story, the Chronicler was able to highlight for his audience—precisely through the unfamiliar—those themes the Chronicler thought most critical to his portrayal.¹³¹ Most prominent among these, and the locus of many of the Chronicler's most startling modifications, were those narratives centered on the enduring nature of the Davidic dynasty and the significance of the Jerusalem temple. In the Chronicler's retelling, Absalom and Adonijah do not rebel against the aging David in Jerusalem (2 Sam 15:10; 1 Kgs 1:5) but, instead, "all the sons of King David supported Solomon as king" (1 Chr 29:24); David not only buys the plot of land where the temple is to be built (2 Sam 24:18–25), but in Chronicles, David generously funds the temple's construction with lavish amounts of gold, silver, bronze, and iron from David's own personal fortune (1 Chr 22:14); the ark is successfully transferred to Jerusalem in Chronicles, but only when David recalls the ordinances about the tabernacle established by Moses in Numbers (Num 7; 1 Chr 15:15).

What these series of revisions suggest about the Chronicler's manner of redress is that new and unfamiliar features of Jerusalem's past were continually being introduced into the older portrait of David's capital around those figures and events particularly important to the Chronicler's own ideological concerns. Such revisions did not have the effect of erasing the past represented in the older literary traditions of Yehud, but these changes did significantly reframe how certain moments in this past were to be remembered.¹³² David's Jerusalem, as dutifully recorded in Samuel-Kings, *may not* have been the city in which the temple was built, but it was, in the Chronicler's retelling, the city that founded the temple and made all preparations for its construction. David *may* have been prohibited from erecting the temple in his reign, but the first king of Jerusalem, the Chronicler recounts, did

gather an abundant amount of materials for the structure and handed the blueprint, already fully detailed, to Solomon. David *may* have sinned and defied Yhwh through the taking of a census (2 Sam 24), but in Chronicles, David was driven to do so by Satan (1 Chr 21:1), and the humble, repentant king used the difficult occasion to establish the site of the future temple (1 Chr 22:1). The Chronicler did not then erase certain failings recorded in Samuel-Kings about David's reign, but they were fundamentally reinterpreted and recast within the framework of a new story.

That the Chronicler was able to introduce these revisions credibly into the story of Samuel-Kings can thus be attributed in large part to the sophisticated manner in which the familiar and unfamiliar were threaded together within the Chronicler's work. Two other factors are worth mention. First, the legitimacy of the Chronicler's story was bolstered by the frequent use of source citations¹³³ that strengthened the implicit claim that this new narrative was a valid portrayal of the past steeped in the written works of old.¹³⁴ Second, the very preservation of the Chronicler's work and its citation by later writers suggests that the Chronicler's vision of the past found resonance with certain segments of the Chronicler's contemporary and future audience. That is, Chronicles came to be accepted and canonized in part because the community who read it found its stories compelling and worthy of being (re)read within the distressed Yehud of the Chronicler's day.

This last point brings to the fore the important question of what features of the Chronicler's portrayal may have been influenced by the contemporary milieu in which the Chronicler wrote. In part, the Chronicler's depiction of David's Jerusalem, as with the scribes behind the image of David's capital in Samuel-Kings, appears to have drawn on the appearance and character of that Jerusalem with which the Chronicler was familiar.¹³⁵ Conspicuous in this vein is not only the heightened role of the Levites within the Chronicler's portrayal of David's city in comparison to that of Samuel-Kings, but also the detailed hierarchy and administrative arrangement surrounding the affairs of the (not yet constructed) temple in David's day. As evidenced in Josephus's *Antiquities* (7.363–366), the system of rotation and rounds between priests and officials working in the temple area was one that, though portrayed as being initiated by David in 1 Chr 23–27, likely reflected Second Temple realities.¹³⁶

Certain descriptions of the physical contours and features of David's Jerusalem also appear to mirror the location of the Chronicler's own time. The Chronicler's account of David's fortification measures after Jerusalem's conquest, in which the new king built outward from the Millo to a "surrounding wall" (1 Chr 11:8), for example, is precisely the opposite of 2 Sam 5:9, where David was said to have re fortified the settlement only from the Millo "inward." Regarding this discrepancy, Na'aman argues persuasively that the Chronicler's revision of 2 Sam 5 on this point was likely due to the appearance of the scribe's own Jerusalem, in which the late Persian/early Hellenistic precinct of the City of David abutted an area of Jerusalem to

its immediate north known in the Chronicler's day as the Ophel.¹³⁷ On this view, David was depicted in Chronicles as constructing in full measure the older southern precinct of the Chronicler's Jerusalem known as the City of David (rather than the more limited, ambiguous area around the citadel referred to in 2 Sam 5) that extended up and ran adjacent to a second, separate, and more northern area (the Ophel) of the settlement. The curious reference to David's other homes (1 Chr 15:1) not mentioned in 2 Samuel may, in a similar manner, also be dependent on memories attached to certain structures within the Chronicler's own Jerusalem; as Neh 12:37 indicates, at least one building known as the "House of David" appears to have existed in the postexilic precinct of the City of David located below the Temple Mount, and thus outside the parameters of where the royal palace complex would have stood in the late Iron Age.

In addition to mapping certain physical and social realities of late Persian/early Hellenistic Jerusalem onto the image of David's capital, the Chronicler also calls attention to particular concerns regarding the status of his city by accenting aspects of Jerusalem's Davidic past. David's very generous donation to fund the temple (1 Chr 22:14; 29:1–5), for example, can be read from one perspective as an attempt to underscore the central importance of the Jerusalem sanctuary by citing the legendary king's support of it. Yet even more significant for the Chronicler's story may have been David's capacity to convince those assembled in Jerusalem to do likewise (1 Chr 29:5–9). Notably, the one glaring anachronism found in the Chronicler's description of David's Jerusalem takes place precisely at this juncture in the story: not only do the Israelites provide impressive sums of gold, silver, bronze, iron, and precious stones in response to David's request, but, in a conspicuous "slip" of the Chronicler's pen, the Israelites also offer Persian darics to the temple treasury (1 Chr 29:7). Absent of autonomous temple lands to support it¹³⁸ in the Chronicler's day, and dependent on funds from a modest Jerusalem and Yehudite population with little indications of wealth, the curious reference to the daric at this moment in the Chronicler's story may, then, have carried with it an intentionality behind its inclusion. That is, the allusion may have been written into the Chronicler's narrative deliberately in order to urge the scribe's contemporaries, in Yehud and the diaspora, to provide more generously for the Second Temple by citing a familiar monetary form within the story of David's reign.

The Chronicler's detailed descriptions of preparations for the temple in David's capital may in a similar sense be read against the grain as a forceful argument for the Jerusalem temple's prestige and authority among an audience that was not convinced of either. Historical considerations again bolster the possibility that the authority of Jerusalem's institutions, or at least their preeminence in the region, were in question when the Chronicler was writing. As noted above, the Elephantine Papyri indicate that Jerusalemite religious leaders did command some influence in terms of the cultic and cultural life of those Jews living outside of Yehud. Nevertheless, authority

also appears to have been granted to leaders in Samaria: in their petitions to the Yehudite governor Bagavahya (Bagohi) for assistance in the attempt to rebuild a temple for Yhwh, Jedaniah and his associates in southern Egypt mention that similar letters were sent not only to temple leaders in Jerusalem, but also to the sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria.¹³⁹ What is more, Bagavahya and Delaiah (a son of Sanballat) appeared to have offered a joint declaration supporting Jedaniah's cause.¹⁴⁰

The appeal to and response from Samaritan leadership in the Elephantine corpus takes on further significance when coupled with finds produced from archaeological excavations carried out on Mount Gerizim, just south of Shechem.¹⁴¹ Contrary to the claims of Josephus (*Ant* 11.302–47) that the Gerizim temple was constructed only after the Samaritan rebellion against Alexander's forces, the impressive temple complex located on the summit of Mt. Gerizim has now been shown by its excavators to have been originally built in the mid-5th century BCE.¹⁴²

Particularly meaningful about the remains recovered from this early, Persian-era strata of the temple complex for this investigation are two observations. First, an abundant amount of ash and faunal (doves, sheep, goats, cattle) remains from the sanctuary indicate that intense cultic activity took place at the site for over a century before Alexander's conquest, and thus began well into the Persian era.¹⁴³ Second, the layout of the original Persian-period sanctuary built on Mt. Gerizim, including gates facing to the north, south, and east, appears to have been modeled on the form of the Second Temple in Jerusalem.¹⁴⁴

If, as recorded in Neh 13:28, Sanballat arranged a marriage between his daughter and a grandson of the high priest in Jerusalem, then the relationship between certain leading families in Samaria and Jerusalem during this period, as hinted at in the Elephantine correspondence, was likely more amicable than the biblical traditions suggest. More importantly, such a union would have provided the Samaritan temple with a Yahwistic priestly lineage as legitimate as the one operating in Jerusalem within a temple that also mirrored the layout of its southern archetype.¹⁴⁵

Sharing a geographic region, language, culture, and belief system, a high degree of interaction and exchange between Samaritans and Yehudites was thus likely the norm during this period,¹⁴⁶ a point that Josephus (*Ant* 11.06–12) and Nehemiah (6:1–14) seem to concede. That Jedaniah's request to rebuild the temple of Yhwh in Egypt (ca. 407 BCE) appears to have been roundly ignored by Jerusalemite temple authorities¹⁴⁷ may therefore have been due to a certain pushback by a segment of Jerusalemite leaders who, in a manner not dissimilar from Nehemiah's efforts, were attempting to restore and safeguard the centrality of the Jerusalem sanctuary by refusing to assist in the construction of yet another Yahwistic temple outside of Jerusalem.¹⁴⁸ Regardless of the precise reasons behind Jerusalem's silence regarding Jedaniah's request, the dismay expressed by Nehemiah toward the neglect of the Jerusalem temple (Neh 13:10–11), Josephus's remarks

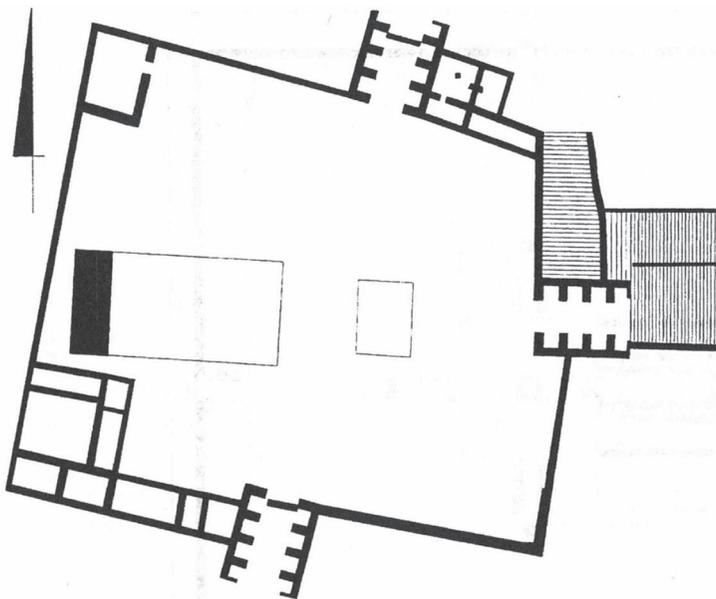


Figure 3.5 Layout of Persian-Period Sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim

that many priests and Levites joined Sanballat in Samaria (*Ant* 11.312), and the momentary questioning of the Second Temple's authority in the biblical record itself (*Mal* 1:6–2:3; *Is* 66:1–2) all offer evidence that Jerusalem's exclusivity for Yahwistic worship was not affirmed by all in the postexilic era. In a rapidly evolving world of Yahwistic faith and practice, enthusiasm for the Jerusalem temple was likely not shared by everyone when Yahwists also lived outside the borders of Yehud.

When read against this historical background, the Chronicler's unique portrayal of David's Jerusalem suddenly takes on further texture and meaning. The remarkable, novel images of the temple's careful preparation by David (1 Chr 22–29), for example, become less curious with the likelihood that the Jerusalem temple's exclusivity was rivaled by at least one sanctuary served by a Jerusalemite priestly line in the era when the Chronicler was writing. The portrait of a pious, magnanimous David intimately involved in endeavors to both build the temple in Jerusalem and look after its cultic personnel—all “additions” by the Chronicler onto his source material—can thus be linked in some sense to the prodigious effort of a Jerusalemite scribe to accent a heritage and pedigree for the Jerusalem temple not shared by Yahwistic sanctuaries in Samaria or elsewhere. That David's temple held so much in common with Moses's tabernacle, even down to a divine blueprint provided for both structures (*Ex* 25:9, 40; 1 Chr 28:11–19), further attests to the Chronicler's attempt to depict the Jerusalem sanctuary's special status and its heritage as the true heir to Israel's ancient cultic traditions.¹⁴⁹

In a similar vein, the frequent allusion to the support of “all Israel” (1 Chr 11:4; 13:5–6, 8; 15:3, 28; 28:8; 29:21, 23, 25) for David’s policies and building measures, again mostly additions woven into the Chronicler’s source material, finds a twofold connotation when placed in the Chronicler’s historical context. First, the description of all Israel providing for David and Jerusalem offered the not-so-subtle point that, in the golden age of the region’s past, Israelite allegiance was utterly oriented toward Jerusalem’s dynasty and sanctuary. Yet perhaps more importantly, particularly in lieu of the more sectarian perspective preserved in Ezra-Nehemiah, the Chronicler’s common reference to all Israel participating in Jerusalem’s affairs under David can be read as conciliatory and inclusive, with all those claiming Israelite identity—whether in Samaria, Babylon, or Egypt—being depicted in Chronicles as having a share in the past flourishing of David’s city. Accordingly, while the exclusive character of Jerusalem’s authority for Israel’s cultic life was forcefully maintained through the Chronicler’s portrayal of David’s capital, the Chronicler’s repeated reference to “all Israel” within this story also accented a more all-embracing understanding of those who were heirs to this legendary past at a time in which such questions were being vigorously debated, particularly within Jerusalem itself (Ezra 4:1–3; Neh 2:19–20).

Closely related to these observations is the literary theme explored above concerning David’s very public connection with his new capital, and the harmony and blessedness that occurred within it during David’s reign. The outright rejection of those many chapters of rebellion against David’s Jerusalem (2 Sam 13–20) in the Chronicler’s work is perhaps the most conspicuous change made to the portrait of David’s capital present in Samuel-Kings, though the erasure of other moments of sin and turbulence within David’s city also remain significant. Indeed, a distinctive feature of the Chronicler’s portrayal of David’s Jerusalem is that its ruler does not forcibly take a warrior’s wife and then order the warrior killed (2 Sam 11), and that its David is neither the impotent king of 1 Kgs 1 or the dying, vindictive ruler of 1 Kgs 2. In place of these scenes, a very gallant David instead stages a number of eloquent speeches in the capital, including repeated references to the promise made to him of an eternal Davidic dynasty (2 Sam 7//1 Chr 17; 1 Chr 22:10; 1 Chr 28:4–7). In a deft literary move, the covenant language adopted from 2 Sam 7 in these orations fails to mention the references to sin and punishment contained in this very covenant tradition (2 Sam 7:14).

With the appearance of such stark revisions to the grim underside of the story of David’s Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings, one could, as many interpreters have, deride the Chronicler’s interpretive scruples or his integrity as a custodian of Yehud’s past.¹⁵⁰ Yet, to impugn the Chronicler on these points fails to recognize that the Chronicler was likely engaged in a critical, urgent debate regarding Jerusalem’s centrality at a precarious moment in the city’s history. From one perspective, those living in the Chronicler’s era would have been aware of an older strain of tradition which claimed that Jerusalem had been

rejected by Yhwh on account of a Davidic heir's sins (2 Kings 21:14; 23:26), and that Yhwh's divine presence had departed from the Jerusalem temple in an overpowering display of disgust and contempt (Ezek 9–10). Lending credence to those misgivings surrounding Jerusalem's character was the fact that, two centuries after its destruction, the city had not yet been restored to anything resembling its pre-Babylonian appearance, but remained instead a village nestled within the ruins of a city decimated despite divine assurance that a Jerusalem ruled by Davidides would never come to such an end (2 Sam 7:13, 16). Troubling as well for those who argued for Jerusalem's exclusivity at this moment was that a rival temple to Yhwh now existed at a larger, more prosperous, and culturally similar site that,¹⁵¹ in a more distant past, had also received Yhwh's divine blessing (Deut 11:29; 27:11–13).

From this perspective, the Chronicler's dramatic redress of those negative memories surrounding David and Jerusalem was an effort likely borne of necessity. In order to contend for Jerusalem's exclusivity for Yahwistic life and worship at this vulnerable moment in the late Persian/early Hellenistic period, the Chronicler could not afford to allow past memories to tarnish the image of this scribe's present city. Though overtures toward those living outside Yehud were made throughout the Chronicler's narrative with its accent on "all Israel" and its momentary accounts of the northern kingdom's past, the existence of the Samaritan temple, traditions of Gerizim's blessedness in the Pentateuch, and a Samaritan leadership that appeared to revive a legacy of Jeroboam¹⁵² all suggest that the Chronicler's strong arguments for Davidic and Jerusalemite centrality would have had only a minimal influence on Yehud's neighbor to the north. Instead, the Chronicler's primary audience was likely his own Jerusalemite contemporaries and those outside of Yehud still sympathetic to Jerusalem's past significance and current plight. Consequently, at a decisive moment when those familiar with Jerusalem had many reasons to question the site's political and cultic pre-eminence, the Chronicler boldly redressed Yehud's older texts in order to contend for Jerusalem's ancient—and present—importance.

In situating the Chronicler's representation of David's Jerusalem within this context, the role of place in shaping perceptions of the past comes readily to the fore. Such influence, I would contend, can be understood as stemming from two directions. First, this experience of late Persian/early Hellenistic Jerusalem impinged on the memories of a Davidic past in a straightforward fashion, with descriptions of David's ancient capital in Chronicles being patterned on the appearance and characteristics of that Jerusalem with which the Chronicler was familiar. Consequently, David's ancient capital takes on a number of features in Chronicles that would have been perceptible, or possible, only in the Jerusalem of the Chronicler's era: the celebration of the ark's entrance into Jerusalem includes a psalm that echoes postexilic concerns of return from foreign exile (1 Chr 16:35); David creates a cultic administration that could have functioned only in the Second Temple era (1 Chr 23–27); Persian darics are offered to fund the building of the first

temple (1 Chr 29:7); and David rebuilds areas of Jerusalem that appear to reflect postexilic details of the location (1 Chr 11:8).

In rendering this portrait of David's Jerusalem through hues drawn on from a late Persian/early Hellenistic context, the Chronicler was thus able to offer the powerful argument that, though his audience's experience of Jerusalem may have been one of a dilapidated, impoverished settlement, this very Jerusalem, with its current temple, homes, and populace, was also a direct participant in the golden age of a Davidic past. By blending certain features of the Chronicler's city into the story of David's capital, in other words, the Chronicler was able to call to mind a meaningful Davidic heritage by referring to purported remnants of David's Jerusalem still available to be experienced in the present: "*here* is the home of the legendary David and the precinct he rebuilt, *here* is where all Israel met David to bring the ark into Jerusalem, *here* are the cultic activities and personnel David ordained and the temple site he purchased." The susceptibility of older cultural memories to be reshaped through the present experience of place, in this sense, allowed the Chronicler to reframe an understanding of Jerusalem's Davidic past by appealing to that Jerusalem known to his audience. That the ruins of a much more powerful and affluent late Iron Age city enveloped the Chronicler's Jerusalem would have only encouraged this manner of redress, even though, historically speaking, these remains were actually connected to Hezekiah and Josiah's Jerusalem, and not David's.

Second, the influence of place on the Chronicler's portrayal of David's Jerusalem was also indirect, being predicated on the discrepancy between the Chronicler's distressed Jerusalem and the authority the Chronicler still claimed for the site. That is, in order to contend for Jerusalem's exclusivity at a time when its appearance or wealth may have suggested otherwise, the Chronicler intentionally erased those moments of iniquity that punctuated the portrait of David's Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings. It was, then, partly in response to the Jerusalem that the Chronicler experienced that this scribe dissolved those memories that suggested that this was how Jerusalem was meant to be. Stories of betrayal (2 Sam 11), rape (2 Sam 11:4; 13:14), fratricide (2 Sam 13:29), and rebellion (2 Sam 15:13; 20:1) were systematically removed from the portrait of David's Jerusalem found in the Chronicler's sources, and replaced with new images of tranquility, loyalty, and abundance (1 Chr 22:6–19; 29:10–25). The work of remembering performed through the Chronicler's text, in this sense, could only occur through the difficult work of forgetting and remembering anew.¹⁵³

3.5 CONCLUSION

At one of the most vulnerable moments in Jerusalem's ancient history when the location housed little more than a thousand inhabitants and exhibited little signs of prestige or authority, my argument in this chapter has been that

a scribe deeply committed to the location's significance rewrote the story of David and his Jerusalem. Working closely with older written sources, this late Persian/early Hellenistic scribe provided a unique vision of David's capital that drew on and yet substantially diverged from the portrayal of David's capital contained in those more venerable texts on which this scribe relied. Though David's Jerusalem in *Chronicles* was, as in *Samuel-Kings*, a site conquered by David and established as a new royal center, the Chronicler's portrayal of David's city did not retain those scenes of rebellion or misfortune that appeared in this scribe's sources. Rather, in the Chronicler's redress of Jerusalem's Davidic past, nearly all negative memories of failure or decay were allowed to fall out of memory. The difficult historical circumstances surrounding the Chronicler's Jerusalem, I have contended, produced a scribe and audience who simply could not bear the burden of memories describing a fractured, vulnerable capital city ruled by a David who had little control over it. Jerusalem's past had to be retold, but differently.

Viewing the Chronicler's portrait of David's Jerusalem through the lens of the scribe's own late Persian/early Hellenistic era, it can be said that the influence of place on the representation of Jerusalem's Davidic past was as pronounced within this new narrative, and perhaps more so, than in the development of those stories devoted to David's Jerusalem in *Samuel-Kings*. This influence nevertheless came to bear on the Chronicler's story much differently by virtue of the very different place in which the Chronicler wrote. For that literary culture writing in late Iron Age Jerusalem, continuity between their city and a more remote Davidic era, whether in certain physical structures of the site or the presence of the Davidic dynasty itself, prevailed in a way that encouraged the production of a work that attempted to locate and bring together older cultural memories about the origins of Jerusalem's (present) ruling house with certain realities of a late Iron Age world. The utter destruction of this Jerusalem and its dynasty introduced a sharp break, however, between that late Iron Age Jerusalem and the Chronicler's time. Accordingly, though the Chronicler was intimately familiar with a location that occupied the same spaces as those former Jerusalems about which he wrote, the old ruins of the Iron Age capital attested only to decline and atrophy. This unsettling disjunction between past and present thus contributed to the creation of a new literary work that substantially redressed the memories of Jerusalem's Davidic past. The result was a daring and complex act of reinterpretation that was as sophisticated in its storytelling as any of the narratives composed by the Chronicler's Hellenistic contemporaries to the west.

NOTES

1. Friedrich Nietzsche, "Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben" (1930): 105.
2. Evidence for the destruction of Jerusalem in the late Iron Age has been found in all quarters of the city. See Hillel Geva, "Western Jerusalem at the end

- of the First Temple Period" (2003): 199; Margreet Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen M. Kenyon in Jerusalem, 1961–67*, Vol. III (2001): 80, 106; Yigal Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David, I* (1984): 29; Eilat Mazar and Benjamin Mazar, *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount* (1989): 59. For a cogent summary, see Oded Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem* (2005): 210–11.
3. My accent here and throughout this chapter on “the redress of the past” is a theme taken from Seamus Heaney’s *The Redress of Poetry* (1995). With Heaney, I understand the notion of “redress” as something more than the attempt “to rectify a wrong,” but as an endeavor to “remedy the lack of something,” “to bring back to the proper course,” and to “balance out” (pp. 15–16).
 4. A full quarter of all biblical references to Jerusalem, for example, stem from the Book of Chronicles. On the importance of Jerusalem for the Chronicler, see Isaac Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian* (2005): 88–153.
 5. Leopold Zunz, “*Dibre-Hajamim* oder die Bücher der Chronik” (1832): 13–36. On this topic, see also Sara Japhet, “The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, Investigated Anew” (1968): 330–71.
 6. The most significant of these remain Sara Japhet’s work cited above and H.G.M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (1977): 39–59.
 7. For an early postexilic composition of Chronicles, see D.N. Freedman, “The Chronicler’s Purpose” (1961): 436–42; Frank Moore Cross, “Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration” (1975): 4–18. For those who favored a later Hellenistic provenance for the work, see Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (1973): 171; Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (1957): 192–97. More recent studies of Chronicles, however, have favored the late Persian/early Hellenistic period (4th–early 3rd century BCE). See especially Thomas Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung* (1972): 190; H.G.M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (1982): 15–16; Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993): 27–28; Gary Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9* (2004): 116–17; Isaac Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, 54–65; Ralph Klein, *1 Chronicles: A Commentary* (2006): 13–16.
 8. Steven McKenzie, “The Chronicler as Redactor” (1999): 70–90.
 9. Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. I (1962): 347–54; Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 110–123.
 10. Willi, 194–204. H.G.M. Williamson, “The Origins of the Twenty-Four Priestly Courses” (1979): 251–68; Gerhard von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes* (1930): 88–115.
 11. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 92–93. See also Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 7; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 14–15; Steven McKenzie, *1–2 Chronicles* (2004): 28; and Klein, 11–13.
 12. Gillis Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint*, II (1946): 11–13.
 13. For a thorough review of these references and their implication for dating Chronicles, see Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 105–11.
 14. Avi Hurvitz, “Terms and Epithets Relating to the Jerusalem Temple Compound in Chronicles” (1995): 165–83; Robert Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew* (1976): 28–69;
 15. Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, 42; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 115.
 16. Williamson, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 15–16. Though, as Knoppers rightly notes, significant contact with Hellenistic culture occurred in the Levant before Alexander’s conquest of the region in 332 BCE. The absence of Hellenistic references in Chronicles therefore can only be suggestive, but not determinate, of the text’s provenance. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 102–104.
 17. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 27.

18. See Williamson, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 120–22; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 27; and Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 115.
19. Knoppers, in a recent and extensive discussion of this genealogy and its text-critical problems, posits eight generations listed after Jeconiah in the MT and twelve in the LXX, offering the dates of 426 BCE and 346 BCE, respectively, for the composition of these genealogies. As Knoppers notes, however, the author of Chronicles could have certainly lived and written after the generations listed in these passages. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 327–31.
20. Lipschits, *Fall and Rise*, 134–84; Avraham Faust, *Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period* (2012): 93–118.
21. Gary Knoppers, “Revisiting the Samaritan Question in the Persian Period” (2006): 265–290.
22. These themes will be taken up at length in the final section of this chapter.
23. My tendency to refer to the Chronicler’s context as “late Persian/early Hellenistic” is a reflection of the typology of the material culture from this time and the inability to clearly define and separate the end of the Persian period from the beginning of the Hellenistic era according to ceramic assemblages. See Oded Lipschits and Oren Tal, “The Settlement Archaeology of the Province of Judah” (2007): 36.
24. Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, 125–58.
25. Shiloh (*City of David*, I, 19) writes of the burned wooden beams preserved in the destruction layer of the most impressive late Iron Age homes of the city and the “scores” of iron and bronze arrowheads that were recovered from the Babylonian assault. On this topic, see also Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen M. Kenyon*, 80.
26. Hillel Geva, *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem*, Vol. III (2006): 14; Oded Lipschits, “Persian Period Finds From Jerusalem” (2009): 9–10.
27. Cf. Ezra 3:12a
28. Lipschits, *Fall and Rise*, 80.
29. Shiloh, *City of David*, I, 29. Cf. Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen Kenyon*, 108–09.
30. Mario Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel* (2005): 195.
31. Survey data supports this view, with only one Persian-era settlement in Judah containing over 650 inhabitants (Jerusalem), and with the rest of the region populated by mostly small villages and farms with less than 300 inhabitants. Charles Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period* (1999): 216–25.
32. Itzhaq Beit-Arieh and Bruce Cresson, “Horvat ‘Uza: A Fortified Outpost on the Eastern Negev Border” (1991): 126–135; Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, ed., *Tel ‘Ira: A Stronghold in the Biblical Negev* (1999): 2–3. Cf. Lipschits, *Fall and Rise*, 144.
33. Alexander Fantalkin and Oren Tal, “The Persian and Hellenistic Pottery of Level I,” Vol. IV (2004): 2188–2192.
34. Jeffrey Zorn, “Tell en-Nasbeh: A Re-Evaluation of the Architecture and Stratigraphy of the Early Bronze Age, Iron Age and Later Periods” (1993): 167–83; and idem., “Tell en-Nasbeh and the Problem of the Material Culture of the Sixth Century” (2003): 413–50.
35. Oded Lipschits, “Demographic Changes in Judah between the Seventh and Fifth Centuries BCE” (2003): 331–33.
36. Oded Lipschits, “Achaemenid Imperial Policy, Settlement Processes in Palestine, and the Status of Jerusalem in the Middle of the Fifth Century B.C.E.” (2006): 31.
37. Lipschits, “Demographic Changes,” 355–57. Lipschits states that the eastern region of Judah running from Jericho to En-Gedi declined in occupied area by

- 89%, the Beer-Sheba/Arad valleys by 75%, the Shephelah by 67%, and the southern Judean hill country by 72%.
38. The fact that the impressive site of Ramat Rahel was not destroyed by the Babylonians leaves open the question of its role during this time. The expansion of the site in the Persian period, however, is at least suggestive that it continued to function as some manner of administrative site during the Neo-Babylonian period. See Oded Lipschits et al., "Palace and Village, Paradise and Oblivion" (2011): 34–35.
 39. Lipschits, "Demographic Changes," 357.
 40. *Ibid.*, 363–64.
 41. Liverani, *Israel's History*, 198.
 42. See Lipschits, "Demographic Changes," 363–66; *idem.*, "Persian-Period Judah" (2011): 192–94; Carter, 216–225.
 43. Kenneth Hoglund, "The Achaemenid Imperial Context" (1991): 57–60.
 44. Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander* (2002): 645–656.
 45. Lipschits and Tal, "Settlement Archaeology," 46.
 46. Alexander Fantalkin and Oren Tal, "Redating Lachish Level I" (2006): 167–97.
 47. Israel Eph'al and Joseph Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (1996); André Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée, II* (2002); and Ephraim Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538–332 B.C.* (1982): 44–46, 251–52.
 48. Briant, 684–85.
 49. Lipschits, "Persian-Period Judah," 198–201.
 50. The Persian-period walls of Jerusalem remain a contentious issue, and will be addressed below.
 51. John Betlyon, "The Provincial Government of Persian Period Judea and the Yehud Coins" (1986): 633–42;
 52. Oded Lipschits and David Vanderhoof, "Yehud Stamp Impression in the Fourth Century B.C.E.," (2007): 86–90.
 53. Lipschits, "Achaemenid Imperial Policy," 35–40.
 54. Vanderkam notes that the absence of a governor's name on the coins minted in Yehud shortly after Alexander's invasion is at least suggestive that the political situation had changed in Yehud, and that the office of the high priest was now in charge of minting—and with it, collecting taxes. James Vanderkam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas* (2004): 123–24. On this point, see also Lester Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period*, Vol. II (2006): 190–91.
 55. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews*, II, 313–15.
 56. Lipschits, "Persian Period Finds," 10–12.
 57. Persian period pottery was, however, recovered from numerous excavation areas, including Shiloh's Area G, E1, E2, E3, D1, B, and A. For a summary of Persian-period finds from Shiloh's excavations, see Alon De Groot and Hannah Bernick-Greenberg, *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh*, Vol. VIIA (2012): 173–76.
 58. Lipschits, "Persian Period Finds," 8.
 59. Carter, 201–02; Ephraim Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, Vol. II (2001): 434–36; Lipschits, *Fall and Rise*, 212; Grabbe, *A History of the Jews*, I, 25–26; David Ussishkin, "The Borders and *De Facto* Size of Jerusalem in the Persian Period" (2006): 162–64; Israel Finkelstein, "Jerusalem in the Persian (and Early Hellenistic) Period and the Wall of Nehemiah" (2008): 501–20.
 60. Finkelstein, "Jerusalem in the Persian (and Early Hellenistic) Period," 506–07.
 61. The crux of Lipschits's argument, as Finkelstein rightly notes, is whether the Ophel was inhabited during the Persian era. Lipschits cites as evidence the

notable number of Persian-period stamp impressions recovered by Macalister and Duncan located just below the Ophel. Though not found *in situ*, the significant number of impressions (fifty-four Yehud and six lion) in this area, as Lipschits contends, likely came from a location relatively nearby where the stamp impressions were found. Lipschits, "Persian Period Finds," 12–14.

62. Carter, 201–02; Lipschits, "Persian Period Finds," 20.
63. Nehemiah's description of the angry reactions to Jerusalem's rebuilding projects by leaders to Jerusalem's north, east, south, and west (Neh 4:1–2 [ET 4:7–8]) provide an indication of the threat a refortified Jerusalem potentially posed to those provinces adjacent to Yehud (Neh 2:10, 19–20; 3:33–4:17). That Jerusalem would be used later by the Hasmoneans as their base to conquer a significant portion of these regions attest to these leaders' suspicions and fears.
64. Finkelstein, "Jerusalem in the Persian (and early Hellenistic) Period," 507–08.
65. Ussishkin, "The Borders," 160–61.
66. *Ibid.*, 162.
67. Finkelstein posits that the description of the walls provided in Nehemiah is actually an account of the Hasmonean construction of the city enclosure written later into the book. Such a stance toward the description of the city enclosure would essentially turn all citations of Jerusalem's walls in Nehemiah into Hasmonean texts in Finkelstein's view, making important textual blocks of Nehemiah fundamentally Hasmonean in provenance. A more nuanced understanding of the complex compositional history of the Book of Nehemiah, I will argue, is, however, needed in order to make this a compelling argument.
68. Jacob Wright, *Rebuilding Identity: The Nehemiah Memoir and its Earliest Readers* (2004).
69. On this point, Wright follows earlier theories of Nehemiah's literary development advanced by Reinhard Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* (2005); and Victor Hurowitz, "I Have Built You an Exalted House" (1992): 118–24.
70. Wright, 4–5, 124–27, 151.
71. *Ibid.*, 84–85.
72. *Ibid.*, 83–84.
73. In addition, a number of texts in Nehemiah are suggestive of this atmosphere. In Neh 7:4, for example, it is said that Jerusalem "was spacious and large, but the people within it were few, and no houses had been built," and Neh 11:1–2 describes a concerted (and it seems difficult) effort to repopulate the city because so few lived within it.
74. De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg, VIIA, 175–76.
75. Lipschits, "Persian-Period Judah," 208.
76. Shiloh, *City of David, I*, (1984), 20.
77. De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg, VIIA, 176.
78. *Ibid.*, 177.
79. *Ibid.*, 173.
80. Lipschits, "Persian Period Finds," 12; Lipschits and Vanderhooft, "Yehud Stamp Impressions," 87–90.
81. For the Elephantine appeal, see especially TAD A4.7 Cowley 30, dated to November of 407 BCE, in which Jedaniah writes to Bagavahya, governor of Yehud, for permission to rebuild a temple of Yhwh at the settlement in Elephantine.
82. Lawrence Schiffman, "Jerusalem in the Dead Sea Scrolls" (1996): 73–88.
83. Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (2005): 36–84.

84. Ehud Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* (2006): 93.
85. *Ibid.*, 92–93.
86. Isaac Kalimi (“Jerusalem—The Divine City” (2003): 200) calculates that 85% of Chronicles deals explicitly with stories concerning the Davidic dynasty in Jerusalem and that thirty-two chapters, or approximately 50% of the work, are connected in some way to the temple.
87. In direct contrast to the bloody transfer portrayed in 1 Kings 1–2, the turning over of power to Solomon is depicted as a peaceful one by the Chronicler: “All of the officers, warriors, and indeed all the sons of King David pledged their loyalty to Solomon” (1 Chr 29:24).
88. The absence in Chronicles of those nebulous references contained in 2 Sam 5:6–11—to the *šinnôr*, the taunts of the lame and blind, the etymological reference to the ban on certain individuals from the temple—has the effect of removing much of the ambiguity that was likely contained in the source material from which the Chronicler drew to formulate his story.
89. As Knoppers notes, this literary motif was a common one within the ancient Near East, with a number of Assyrian kings also claiming to achieve a great accomplishment within their first year of rule. Gary Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29* (2004): 545.
90. Cf. Marc Zvi Brettler, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel* (1995): 41–45; and Kalimi, *Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History*, 18–35.
91. For a short reflection on this use of flashback in the Chronicler’s narrative, see also Christine Mitchell, “Dialogism in Chronicles” (1999): 320–24.
92. This again strengthens the argument that the traditions in Samuel-Kings were well-known to the Chronicler and his audience, and that at moments, these traditions were only alluded to rather than being rewritten completely.
93. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29*, 612.
94. In 2 Sam 5:9, however, David builds only from the Millo “inward.”
95. Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (1989): 470–71.
96. So, for example, the famous Melian dialogue in *Thuc* 5.84–116.
97. See again Hurowitz, “*I Have Built You an Exalted House*.”; and Douglas Green, “*I Undertook Great Works*” (2010).
98. See also Tae-Soo Im, *Das Davidbild in den Chronikbüchern* (1985): 43–46; Japhet, *Ideology*, 270–78.
99. Willi, 161–63; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29*, 740.
100. Ehud Ben Zvi, “Who Knew What? The Construction of the Monarchic Past in Chronicles and Implications for the Intellectual Setting for Chronicles” (2007): 350.
101. Trent Butler, “A Forgotten Passage from a Forgotten Era (1 Chr XVI 8–36)” (1978): 144–45.
102. Zvi, “Who Knew What?” 352.
103. Kalimi, “Jerusalem—the Divine City,” 193. The enduring nature of the promise made to David is referenced at a number of junctures later in Chronicles, including 2 Chr 6:16 (//1 Kgs 8:25); 2 Chr 21:7, where the eternal nature of the “House of David” replaces “Judah” in 2 Kgs 8:19; 2 Chr 13:5, an “addition” in Chronicles; and 2 Chr 23:3, also an “addition.” For more on how this theme is developed in Chronicles, see Im, 126–28.
104. Carol Meyers, “David as Temple Builder” (1987): 357–76. See also the detailed comments on the topic of “king and cult founder” in Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29*, 630–33.
105. David’s actions in Chronicles are, however, considerably tempered from his description in 2 Sam 6. Rather than the “leaping” and “whirling” of David

- that could be read as lewd (C.L. Seow, *Myth, Drama, and the Politics of David's Dance* (1989): 116), David is depicted in Chronicles with the more innocuous terms of “dancing” and “performing.” Michal’s contempt is also truncated in Chronicles, with the princess making no reference to David’s “uncovering” of himself in front of the young servant women (2 Sam 6:20).
106. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles* 10–29, 633. For an examination of Moses’s and David’s authority over the cult in Jerusalem, see Simon De Vries, “Moses and David as Cult Founders in Chronicles” (1988): 619–639; and Japhet, *Ideology*, 237–247.
 107. Gary Knoppers, “Images of David in Early Judaism” (1995): 449–470; idem., *1 Chronicles* 10–29, 763–64.
 108. Martin Noth, *The Chronicler's History* (1987): 55–56; Im, 145–52; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 372.
 - 109 Japhet provides a number of examples: in 1 Kings 5:27, 29–30, Solomon is the one who organizes the builders and workers for the temple; in Chronicles, it is David (1 Chr 22:2–3). In 1 Kings, Solomon enters into negotiations with Hiram of Tyre for cedar wood (1 Kings 5:20); in Chronicles, it is David who first does so (1 Chr 22:4). Great quantities of gold from Ophir and precious metals are attributed to David’s undertakings in Chronicles (1 Chr 29:2–5), while these are cited as Solomon’s achievement in 1 Kings 9:28; 10:11. For a larger discussion of this theme, see Japhet, *Ideology*, 485–89.
 110. 1 Chr 28:19b states: “he [Yhwh] has caused me to understand [השכיל] all the workings of the temple.”
 111. De Vries, 619–39; Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology*, 32–33.
 112. This pronounced foreshadowing of the future by the Chronicler is also noted by Japhet, who attributes this technique to what she terms “*a priori*” thought in Israelite storytelling. Japhet, *Ideology*, 230.
 113. “Sources” of a seemingly annalistic character are cited in the Book of Kings, though the earliest of these particular source citations stem from Solomon’s reign (“the Scroll of the Deeds of Solomon” [1 Kings 11:41]), not David’s.
 114. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 14–18; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles* 1–9, 63–68. Graeme Auld (*Kings Without Privilege* [1994]) has proposed that a Deuteronomistic History and Chronicles were nearly contemporaneous accounts based upon a common, more primitive *Vorlage*. This perspective has, however, found few supporters. See especially the critique in McKenzie, “The Chronicler as Redactor,” 80–87.
 115. As the versions of Samuel preserved at Qumran make abundantly clear, the MT of Samuel-Kings is certainly not *the* text the Chronicler had access to when composing his work. As the studies of S. McKenzie and W. Lemke, among others, have illustrated, a number of discrepancies between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles illustrate that the Chronicler had access to a shorter, slightly different *Vorlage* of Samuel than the one found in the MT. Thus, though the extent of the differences remain small, the historian must be cautious not to overstate the evidence of the MT when comparing the two works. See Steven McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (1985); idem., “The Chronicler as Redactor,” 70–90; and Werner Lemke, “The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler’s History” (1965): 349–63.
 116. Cf. Brettler, *The Creation of History*, 21.
 117. *Ibid.*, 23–25.
 118. Cf. Ehud Ben Zvi, “Are There Any Bridges Out There? How Wide Was the Gap between the Deuteronomistic History and Chronicles” (2009): 60.
 119. For a reflection on the authoritative nature of Samuel-Kings for the Chronicler, see Willi, 241–44; and Brettler, *The Creation of History*, 22.

120. E. Ben Zvi is certainly correct in stating that there is “nothing strange in developing new (hi)stories of the past,” but his examples—the book of Jubilees and Josephus’s writings—both postdate the Chronicler’s work by a century or more. The contention of this chapter is that there is something significant about the Chronicler’s attempt to rewrite a past already set down in an authoritative text when so few had attempted to do so before him in the ancient Near East. Such revisions were indeed accomplished increasingly after the Chronicler, but were much less frequent before him. Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology*, 26.
121. Mario Liverani, “Untruthful Steles’: Propaganda and Reliability in Ancient Mesopotamia” (2010): 229–244. Berossus, writing under the influence of Hellenism in the 3rd century, would be one of the earliest writers from Mesopotamia to offer a new reconstruction of the history of region based on a critical reading of earlier, written sources. See John Dillery, “Greek Historians of the Near East,” Vol. I (2007): 221–230.
122. It appears that after the 8th–7th centuries BCE, when the Homeric poems were first written down, only minor variations occurred in the texts’ transmission. See especially Adam Parry, ed., *The Making of Homeric Verse* (1971); Albert Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (2000): 141–157; Barry Powell, “Homer and Writing” (1997): 3–32.
123. Scholars commonly cite Thucydides’s opening prologue as a subtle (or not so subtle) critique of Herodotus, whose writings Thucydides knew well. For a comparison of the two Greek historians, see particularly the rich treatments by Virginia Hunter, *Past and Process in Herodotus and Thucydides* (1982); and Rosalind Thomas, *Herodotus in Context*(2002): 168–75. The reworking of the Gilgamesh Epic between the Old Babylonian version and its Middle and Neo-Assyrian recensions, including the insertion of a Prologue into Tablet I, the incorporation of a flood story into Tablet XI, and the creation of a new tablet (XII), offer some parallels to the Chronicler’s work, even if these revisions were not as extensive as the Chronicler’s form of redress. For an overview of these revisions of the Gilgamesh epic, see especially Jeffrey Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (2002): 73–109, 130–160, 241–250.
124. John van Seters, “Creative Imitation in the Hebrew Bible” (2000): 395–409; Gary Knoppers, “The Relationship of the Deuteronomistic History to Chronicles” (2012): 331–36.
125. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 129–35.
126. Here I follow closely the proposal of Zvi in his remarks under the heading of the “Reshaping of Memory and Readership” in Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology*, 30–33.
127. Noth, *The Chronicler’s History*, 89.
128. David Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart* (2005): 159–173 and idem., *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (2011): 73–78.
129. Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology*, 27; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 123. Seters, “Creative Imitation,” 395–409.
130. Ricoeur writes, “It is, more precisely, *the selective function of the narrative* that opens to manipulation the opportunity and the means of a clever strategy, consisting from the outset in a strategy of forgetting as much as in a strategy of remembering.” (My italics) Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (2004): 85.
131. Cf. Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology*, 31.
132. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 133; Brettler, *The Creation of History*, 122; Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology*, 60–61.

133. So the allusions to the “annals of King David” (1 Chr 27:24); “the records of the seer Samuel,” “the records of the prophet Nathan,” and “the records of the seer Gad” (1 Chr 29:29).
134. Whether or not these sources were extant written works drawn upon by the Chronicler remains a matter of widespread debate among scholars. For my purposes here, the question of the existence of these sources is less important than the fact that the Chronicler refers to them, repeatedly so, in order to strengthen the validity of his enterprise. See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 14–19; Anson Rainey, “The Chronicler and his Sources—Historical and Geographical” (1997): 30–72; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 123–26.
135. Peter Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern* (1973): 196–98.
136. Cf. Gary Knoppers, “The City Yhwh Has Chosen” (2003): 310.
137. Nadav Na’aman, “Biblical and Historical Jerusalem in the Tenth and Fifth-Fourth Centuries B.C.E.” (2012): 33–35.
138. Knoppers, “The City Yhwh Has Chosen,” 315–16.
139. Cowley 30/TAD A4.7:29; Cowley 31/TAD A4.8:28.
140. Cowley 32/TAD A4.9:1–11.
141. Yitzhak Magen, “The Dating of the First Phase of the Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim in Light of Archaeological Evidence” (2006): 157–212.
142. *Ibid.*, 163.
143. *Ibid.*, 164.
144. *Ibid.*, 160–61.
145. *Ibid.*, 164.
146. Knoppers, “Revisiting the Samaritan Question,” 273–80.
147. TAD A4.7/Cowley 30 Verso: line 19.
148. Jörg Frey, “Temple and Rival Temple—The Case of Elephantine, Mt. Gerizim, and Leontopolis” (1999): 179–80. The founding of a Jewish temple in Leontopolis, Egypt by none other than a Jerusalemite, Zadokite priest (Onias) during the early 2nd century BCE, however, illustrates well the inability of Jerusalemite leadership to prevent such changes from occurring. Aryeh Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (1985): 119–35.
149. De Vries, 626–30.
150. Perhaps most influential is Wellhausen’s assessment of the Chronicles, in which “all sorts of harmless legendary anachronisms and exaggerations,” are introduced, and in which “the material of tradition seems broken up in an extraneous medium, the spirit of post-exilic Judaism.” Wellhausen, 187.
151. Magen, 187–88; Adam Zertal, “The Mount Manasseh Northern Samarian Hills) Survey” (Year): 11–12; Knoppers, “Revisiting the Samaritan Question,” 265–290.
152. Ya’akov Meshorer and Shraga Qedar, *The Coinage of Samaria* (Year): 24–25; Magen, 188.
153. Nietzsche, “Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben,” 103–105.

4 David's Jerusalem

The Early 10th Century BCE Part I: An Agrarian Community

While taking care not to deny the importance of the leading players, more profound historical study takes the whole into account: spectators, situations, the canvas of the immense *commedia dell'arte*.¹

Entombed beneath the homes and bustling streets of 21st-century Jerusalem are the ruins of those ancient cities that preceded it. The material remains of these past Jerusalems attest to the location's long and meaningful history within the eastern Mediterranean world, and to the rise and decay of those powers that once controlled the location. The intent of this chapter and the next is to attend to the traces of one of these venerable, long-buried layers of Jerusalem's past in order to reconstruct the landscape and lifeways of that site whose legacy gave rise to the cultural memories surveyed in the preceding chapters.

A persistent obstacle to this reconstructive pursuit will be the long history of Jerusalem itself. This is to say that the most difficult hurdle to surmount when investigating ancient Jerusalem is the location's four thousand years of almost continuous occupation, including not only the many wars, destructions, and renovations that have befallen the site, but also the rhythms of daily life that have slowly transformed the location over the centuries. Owing to this history, the material remains connected to Jerusalem's more ancient communities often take on the character of those scratched-out and overwritten letters darkening the early surface of a palimpsest from antiquity, in which features of older words are discernible only by virtue of their capacity to endure, often by chance, the wearing away of time. Despite these erosive elements, however, it is of historical consequence that traces connected to the most ancient Jerusalem settlements have endured into the present, and, in doing so, these traces bear witness to the lives of those who, thousands of years ago, once inhabited the site.

Animated by these vestiges of Jerusalem's ancient past, my discussion of David's Jerusalem in what follows attempts to view the site through a number of disparate lenses in order to represent a more textured portrait of the settlement's early history. The focus of these chapters thus progresses from

an examination of the location's everyday life to its function as a stronghold settlement in the highlands, and finally to the ideological influence it may have once exerted for the local dynasty that controlled it. Accordingly, the aim of these chapters is to transition from the previous studies' preoccupation with how David's Jerusalem was remembered in later biblical texts toward a consideration of that location connected in biblical memory to the life and reign of David.

4.1 DAVID'S JERUSALEM: FROM MEMORY TO HISTORY

An investigation centered on the historical character of that location linked to the person of David is a place connected to the life of an individual, thus requiring an analysis of the site to be situated within the restricted temporal horizon of a human lifespan. Yet, as is well known and much discussed, any attempt to situate the biblical David in historical time must proceed cautiously, being epistemologically aware of its limits and self-conscious about the inherent difficulties involved in this type of historical reconstruction. Reliant upon biblical accounts that attest to an individual of the past but that were nevertheless informed by processes of cultural memory susceptible to distortion and error, investigations into the historical David remain necessarily oblique and provisional. My purpose in invoking David here, however, is not to recover the history of an individual, but is intended as a heuristic device to narrow my historical inquiry within a certain era of Jerusalem's past. The question to be taken up, then, is not whether a historical David existed as the biblical narrative portrays him, but rather: *if* a figure such as David once ruled Jerusalem, when would have this individual been affiliated with the location?

"The Bible," P.K. McCarter remarks in his seminal article on the David of history, "is our only source of information about David. No ancient inscription mentions him. No archaeological discovery can be securely linked to him. The quest for the historical David, therefore, is primarily exegetical."² Today, two decades after McCarter's study, the historian is no longer confronted by the same absence of extrabiblical evidence that prompted McCarter's guarded assessment. The reason for this change is the appearance of the Tel Dan Inscription. In July 1993 and June 1994, excavations at the site of Tel Dan in northern Israel recovered two fragments of an Aramaic memorial inscription that had been reused and reincorporated into the infrastructure of the site in antiquity. The first portion of the inscription, found on Fragment A, elicited the most interest and controversy with the clearly legible letters of *bytdwd* located on line nine. Another break of the stele, Fragment B, also provided the pieces of what appeared to be the names of two leaders, "[]rm son of A[] . . . and []yhw son of."³

Being the first possible extrabiblical reference to a "David" (*dwd*) from the ancient Near East, the inscription generated justifiable excitement and

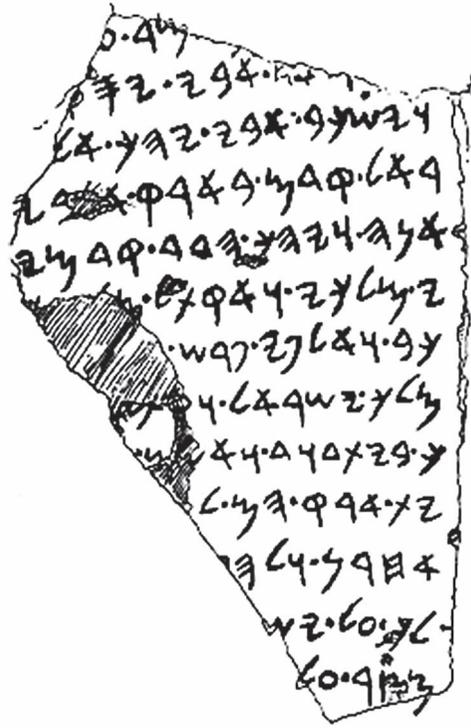


Figure 4.1 Tel Dan Inscription, Fragment A

a steady stream of articles regarding the text's value for an understanding of the Davidic dynasty and the geopolitical relationship between Israel and the Arameans.⁴

The preservation, date, and historical referents of the Tel Dan Inscription are particularly important for an understanding of the text's historical significance. First, as forcefully maintained by the excavators, the inscription was recovered from a controlled archaeological context, thus precluding any suspicions of the fragments stemming from a forgery.⁵ One fragment of the inscription was found within a secondary section of building material incorporated into a wall at the site and another in debris above the location's *piazza*, with the site's destruction by Tiglath-Pileser III in the 730s BCE providing a solid *terminus ante quem* for the date of these pieces.⁶ Based on the dating of the wall and *piazza* by the excavators, and the fact that the inscription had to be composed, destroyed, and reused as building material before this date, the site's excavators determined the time of the inscription to fall within the latter half of the 9th century BCE.⁷ This dating was further buttressed by epigraphic considerations that placed this text soundly among a family of Northwest Semitic inscriptions dating from the late 9th to early 8th centuries BCE, including that of Kilamuwa (KAI 26),

Melqart (KAI 201), and Zakkur (KAI 202). The name of the leaders mentioned in Fragment B were also an important indication of the historical context surrounding the inscription's creation, as the only king of either Israel or Judah to have the letters *resh-mem* end his name and be the son of a ruler whose name began with an *aleph* was Joram (or Jehoram), son of Ahab, who ruled Israel in the middle of the 9th century BCE according to the Book of Kings.⁸ Such considerations thus placed the date of the inscription squarely within the period of the late 9th/early 8th century BCE, a period that witnessed heavy Aramean activity in the region of northern Israel, most notably during the reign of Hazael of Damascus.⁹

The most straightforward reading of the phrase *bytdwd* in line A9 of the Tel Dan inscription is the construct phrase “House of David,” and this interpretation has garnered the assent of the majority of scholars familiar with the text. When situated alongside historical references to a conflict between an Aramean leader who commissioned the inscription and two foreign rulers, including a (Jo)ram, king of Israel, and another ruler with a Yahwistic name, the likelihood that *bytdwd* is a reference to an eponymous ancestor used as a dynastic name for the kingdom of Judah—“House of David”—is only strengthened.

Nevertheless, the reading of *bytdwd* as “House of David” has been challenged by those unconvinced of the inscription's allusion to an eponymous David or the kingdom of Judah. Those who questioned this interpretation have raised two primary concerns. First, the lack of a word divider between *byt* and *dwd* has suggested to some that the phrase was a single word akin to a topographical reference such as *byt'l* (Bethel, i.e. “temple of El”),¹⁰ an argument supported in part by the use of a word divider between the construct “king of Israel” in line A8 of the stele.¹¹ Based on the analogy with the place names of Bethel or Beth-Horon written as one lexeme in other inscriptions, these scholars advocated a reading of *bytdwd* as “Temple of X,” a reference to a sanctuary, rather than a ruling dynasty.

Aligned with this interpretation, a second objection has been registered with the reading of *dwd* as “David.” This disagreement stems from the observation that, in an unpointed text, the letters *dwd* did not necessarily denote the personal name *dawīd*, but could also be vocalized as *dōd*—the latter being a possible reference to a divine epithet of Yhwh (i.e. “uncle” or “beloved”).¹² According to the arguments of this group of scholars, a contrasting reading of the lexeme *bytdwd* was thus possible, and could be construed as a local place name known as “Temple of the Beloved”¹³ whose specific location simply fell out of literary memory.

While alternative readings of the inscription raise the necessary admonition that no interpretation of the phrase *bytdwd* is unproblematic, the objections raised by scholars particularly critical of the “House of David” reconstruction suffer from a number of weaknesses. First, the assumption that a word divider must be present between the lexemes *byt* and *dwd* in a construct phrase is problematic considering the variation in scribal

conventions for the use of word dividers at this time in Northwest Semitic inscriptions,¹⁴ and the very elastic understanding among these scribes of what constituted a single “word” during this era.¹⁵ Inconsistency, therefore, and not consistency, is what one expects from scribes confronted with construct phrases during this period, and there is little reason to give much argumentative weight to the assumption that a word divider must be present in a construct phrase in texts from this region and era. In addition, as both Rendsburg and Na’aman note, the terminology of “*byt*-PN” was simply the most common way for Iron Age scribes to designate West Semitic polities, as attested within Assyrian texts, for example, that refer to these regions.¹⁶

Second, the reading of *bytdwd* as a divine epithet employed at a local sanctuary suffers substantially from the absence of citations to this deity, or its sanctuary, in the Levant during the Iron I/II period.¹⁷ If a “Temple of Dod” or “The Beloved” was indeed the intended referent in line A9, it would be an entirely neglected divine epithet within the eastern Mediterranean region during the period in the which the stele was composed—particularly in comparison with the much more familiar and attested phrase “House of David” that occurs twenty-five times in the biblical traditions alone.¹⁸ Arguments that *bytdwd* refers to a toponym also suffer from an absence of allusions to such a location within any extant ancient Near Eastern text, including the Hebrew Bible. In addition, the literary context of the phrase *bytdwd* in line A9 considerably lessens the likelihood that the lexeme was a reference to a particular sanctuary or specific toponym: as lines A7–8 ostensibly describe an encounter with the king of Israel, the reference to “their land” (instead of “his land”) in line A10 suggests that the lacuna in the latter half of line A8 names another political leader corresponding to this Joram who is killed alongside the Israelite king and whose lands are also dominated by the Aramean leader. Again, a king of Judah from the “House of David,” particularly that king Ahaziah who is referred to in the Hebrew Bible as having assisted Joram against the Arameans and died alongside him during Jehu’s revolt (2 Kings 9), is most plausible.¹⁹ Such epigraphic, grammatical, and literary considerations thus overwhelmingly favor the reading of *bytdwd* as reference to a dynastic house over against other alternatives.

The importance of the Tel Dan Inscription for the current investigation resides in the supporting evidence it offers to those biblical texts that also remember a local dynasty in the southern Levant that bore the name of David. To be sure, the reference to “David” in this inscription does not reveal any historical information about a particular individual from antiquity. But the citation of a “House of David” does bring to the fore the question, along the lines of allusions to a Bīt-ḥumria or Bīt-ḥaza’ili,²⁰ as to the referent that gave rise to this dynastic designation. Having ruled out the likelihood of this expression referring to a toponym or deity, the most lucid interpretation of this referent is one that connects it to that David named within the Hebrew Bible.

What is significant about the Tel Dan Inscription for my purposes here, then, is that it presupposes, however obliquely, an individual of the past named David. When confronted by the need to describe a neighboring polity in conventions common to the region, it is meaningful, in other words, that an Aramean scribe carved a specific identification that also occurs in the biblical corpus as the name of a figure who founded an Iron Age polity in the southern Levant. From a historical standpoint, it cannot be overemphasized that in the soil of northern Galilee, 225 kilometers north of Jerusalem at the border of the ancient kingdoms of Israel and Damascus, words etched in stone from the Iron Age refer to an eponymous David who, in the stories edited and composed by biblical scribes during this time, was also remembered as a founder of a Judahite dynasty ruling from Jerusalem.

The question, then, is the time frame in which this David would have ruled. The close conformity between the names and regnal periods of rulers from ancient Israel and Judah in the Hebrew Bible with the records of various polities in the ancient Near East permits a general idea of the era in which a figure such as David would have lived.²¹ Beginning with Ahab's reign in the mid-9th century BCE and working back through the six kings who preceded him in Israel and the length accorded to their reigns in the biblical corpus, the period of Solomon would be situated sometime in the middle of the 10th century BCE. It can be surmised that the reign of Solomon's father, David, would then be located in the early 10th century BCE.²² These dates are decidedly approximate in the absence of extrabiblical evidence capable of attesting to the precise length of the reigns of Solomon and David, but even allowing for the relative nature of the regnal periods in question places David within the first decades after the turn of the first millennium BCE, or at some time during the late Iron I/iron IIA transition.

4.2 THE EVIDENCE OF EARLY 10TH-CENTURY BCE JERUSALEM: PLACE, PREDICAMENTS, AND POSSIBILITIES

The remains of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem are located beneath the modern location that continues to bear its name. The size and contours of the early 10th-century BCE settlement were nevertheless acutely different than that of the contemporary location. Extending south and down the slope from the Temple Mount, early 10th-century Jerusalem would have been situated atop the narrow spur formed by the confluence of the Kidron and Tyropoeon valleys in what was known then as the City of David. The ancient settlement would have been around four to five hectares, thus making the sprawling modern city of Jerusalem roughly 3,000 times the size, in area, of its ancient forebear.

The ridge on which the early 10th-century BCE settlement sat is one of many such mountainous spurs in the Judean Hills that were created by the streams that once carved through the dolomite and limestone bedrock

of the region. Given the hilly topography of the site, the ancient location would have been marked by a change in elevation of ca. 100 meters from its northern limit to its southern tip as one walked the settlement from its peak at the Temple Mount (740 meters above sea level) to the south of the City of David below (640 meters above sea level).²³ In antiquity, this twenty-five-to-thirty-degree slope would have also included steep escarpments along Jerusalem's hillsides, though such geological features are difficult to discern today due to the effects of erosion and the archaeological debris that has accumulated throughout the millennia.²⁴

Bordering on the Judean desert to its south and east, but retaining a semiarid Mediterranean climate, studies of the Dead Sea and pollen samples taken from the Galilee suggest that Jerusalem would have experienced a momentary rise in humidity and precipitation and lower temperatures during the early 10th century BCE, with a corresponding increase in vegetation throughout the region.²⁵ Nevertheless, due to the general aridity of the climate even at this time and the region's susceptibility to periods of drought, the Gihon Spring, located just east of the City of David and producing between 200 and 1100 m³ of water per day,²⁶ would have been the most precious natural resource for those inhabiting the site in antiquity.

The many excavations undertaken throughout the City of David have confirmed that Jerusalem was inhabited during the early 10th century BCE.²⁷ A point not to be lost, then, amid the debates surrounding the historicity of a David, Solomon, or a United Monarchy is that the existence of an inhabited settlement in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 10th century BCE has been attested to by the many excavations carried out in its precincts. Positing a demographic estimate at 300–400 individuals per hectare for consequential settlements in the region during this time,²⁸ this early 10th-century BCE settlement would have thus contained between 1,200 and 1,600 residents, though a more cautious estimate of the location's population for the early part of the century may be more accurate. Early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem therefore possessed only a modest population, but was nevertheless comparable in size to other significant settlements in the southern Levant at the turn of the 1st millennium BCE, such as Khirbet Qeiyafa, Beth-Shemesh Level 4, Tel Rehov VII–VI, and Tell el-Fâr'ah (North) VIIb, to cite a few notable examples.²⁹

Jerusalem was located approximately thirty-one kilometers north of Hebron and sixty-one kilometers south of Shechem (Tell Balatah) along the most important north-south transit route that cut through the central highlands. Accordingly, the location held a crucial geopolitical position within the central highlands, as it was situated strategically between the important southern sites of Beersheba, Arad, and Hebron, for example, and those more northern settlements of Bethel, Shiloh, Shechem, and Samaria.³⁰ More locally, the site of Jerusalem oversaw a bottleneck of ancient roads that intersected with this north-south route "at the point where this highway reached the end of the confining ridge from Bethlehem . . . and from which important roads fanned out in various directions to the east, north, and

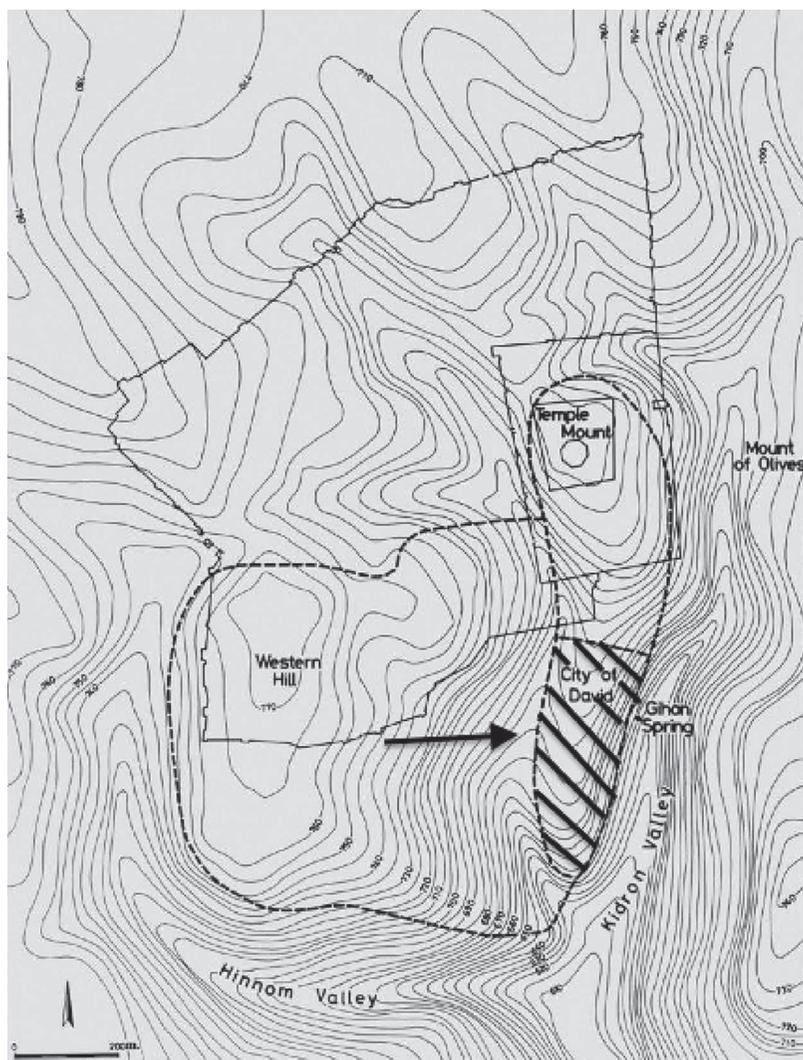


Figure 4.2 Location of Early 10th-Century BCE Jerusalem

west.”³¹ Jerusalem also was not far removed from a well-traveled east-west road linking the major Mediterranean Sea coastal road to the King’s Highway in the Transjordan.³²

Jerusalem was thus able to extend its influence throughout the heart of the central highlands via its position along vital trade routes nestled into the difficult, topographical contours of the region. The advantageous location of Jerusalem, coupled with its position atop a mountainous spur possessed of a continual underground water source, explains, in part, the site’s long

history of occupation before the early 10th century BCE. The impressive material remains from Jerusalem's 2nd millennium BCE history thus support those biblical traditions that assert that the early 10th-century BCE city was not constructed *de novo* by David or another Israelite group (e.g. Josh 10; Judg 1; 2 Sam 5:6–9), but rather emerged from a place that had already been long inhabited. In fact, material remains from Jerusalem extend as far back as the Early Bronze Age,³³ though it was in the Middle Bronze Age period when Jerusalem grew, for the first time, into an impressive, fortified city. This Jerusalem, along with many other Canaanite sites of the Middle Bronze Age, was defined by its impressive architectural features, including a massive 3.5 m. city wall and two imposing towers that guarded the Gihon spring.³⁴ And, even as these monumental Canaanite cities declined over time, a corpus of letters from the Egyptian site of El-Amarna indicate that Jerusalem remained a location of enduring significance into the Late Bronze Age: six of these letters (EA 285–290)³⁵ make explicit mention of the city of Jerusalem, its ruler Abdi-Heba, and the “lands” (EA 287:63) controlled by this Late Bronze Age city-state.

As with the faint material traces of Abdi-Heba's Jerusalem,³⁶ the Jerusalem of the early 10th century BCE at the heart of this investigation is only sparsely attested in the archaeological record. But in spite of the limitations of the evidence available, it is important to underscore that archaeological remains connected to both the Iron I and IIA periods have been recovered from the site. These remains are comprised not only of ceramic assemblages located in the fill of the impressive terraces on the eastern slope of the City of David,³⁷ but include a few partial building remains³⁸ and a number of unique artifacts perhaps connected to a cultic sphere once active within the settlement (see figure 4.3 below).³⁹ More impressively, E. Mazar's recent excavations have revealed two horizons of Iron I pottery in Room E of her Large Stone Structure, including the presence of crucibles and other traces of metallurgical activity, and a notable amount of Iron IIA pottery in Room D.⁴⁰ The possibility that the Large Stone Structure itself was erected in the Iron I period also potentially influences how one understands the overall character of this settlement.⁴¹ Lastly, an extramural neighborhood on the eastern slope of the City of David appears to have developed slowly over the course of the 11th–10th centuries BCE, indicating a gradual growth in the site's overall area and population with the transition from the Iron I to Iron IIA eras.⁴²

The point in citing these much-cited remains is simply to make clear that Jerusalem was an inhabited highland site during the early 10th century BCE. The significance of this observation for this study is that it provides warrant to reflect on that place connected to these material traces, and thus to reconstruct, inasmuch as it is possible, the lifeways and built environment intimated by these vestiges. Before entering into this analysis, however, it is necessary to consider certain predicaments and possibilities associated with representing the history of an ancient place.

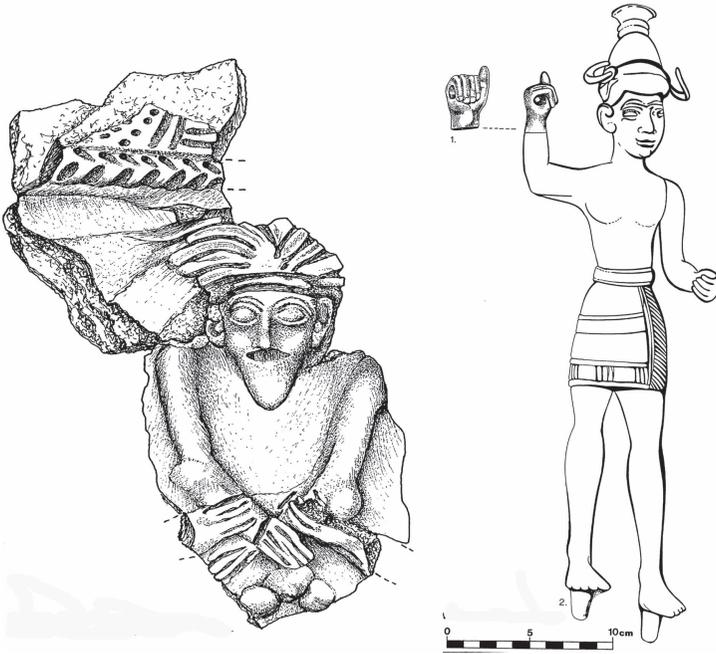


Figure 4.3 Cultic Stand Fragment and Bronze Fist from Shiloh Area G

4.2.1 A History of Place: Predicaments

Significant about the material remains of a place for the historian's reconstructive pursuit, I have argued throughout this study, is that the physical remains of a location are capable of enduring through great expanses of time. Even long-buried cities in the ancient Near East remained capable of this temporal disruption, as the mounds of their ruins persisted through millennia before modern archaeology brought their past once again to light.

Yet, for those sites not abandoned or destroyed in antiquity, a place's capacity to endure through the millennia as a living, inhabited site forms the most serious obstacle to the historian's reconstructive task. For the continued occupation of a location's spaces by various communities over time have the effect of unsettling and displacing the traces left behind from those individuals that preceded them: as community after community is rebuilt on top of another at a place such as Jerusalem, new settlements have reused, erased, and blended into those cities that came before. With its rugged topography and long history of occupation and conflict, Jerusalem has been particularly affected by this process of creative destruction. It is important to underscore, however, that Jerusalem is not, in this regard, unique within the ancient Mediterranean world. Three examples will suffice as an illustration of what I intend.



Figure 4.4 Early Excavations at Carchemish by the British Museum

Tyre

The Phoenician harbor-city of Tyre is well known from its rich biblical allusions (e.g. 2 Sam 5:11; 1 Kgs 5:1; Ezek 27) and those references passed down through the writings of ancient authors, including Josephus, whose descriptions of Tyre's history (Josephus claimed) were taken from a lost history of the city written by Meander of Ephesus.⁴³ From such ancient sources, it can be surmised that Tyre was a prosperous, ancient city, and likely the most prominent Phoenician port during the Iron Age. Finds from Cyprus and the north African coast corroborate this view, as the material evidence from these regions illustrate that Tyre was already heavily invested in oversea trade by the 10th century BCE.⁴⁴ In addition, traditions related by Josephus (*C. Ap.* 1.18) attribute extensive building measures in Tyre to the 10th century King Hiram—including that of a prominent temple in the city and the further expansion of the location by an artificial land bridge between two reefs in the Mediterranean.

In spite of this textual evidence, very little, however, is known archaeologically about Iron Age Tyre. Ernst Renan, on an expedition commissioned by Napoleon III in the mid-19th century CE, discovered much of the ancient city destroyed by past military sieges and antiquity thieves, with what was left over often cleared away for the construction of the modern city that had taken its place.⁴⁵ A hundred and fifty years after Renan the archaeological picture of Tyre has changed little, as the continued habitation of the location has allowed only limited excavations of the ancient site, with minimal material evidence being recovered that can be securely linked to the settlement of

the 10th century BCE. If restricted to the material culture alone, one could surmise that the site was once inhabited in the 10th century BCE, but its contours and significance could not be adduced.⁴⁶

Damascus

Moving inland from Tyre, a second illustration of the difficulties associated with reconstructing the history of an ancient place descends from the Aramean capital of Damascus. Mentioned already with the traditions surrounding David's wars in 2 Sam 8, the city of Damascus nevertheless does not receive an extrabiblical citation from other ancient Near Eastern texts until a 9th-century BCE reference by Shalmaneser III on the Melqart Stele.⁴⁷ Despite the silence concerning the city before this period, however, Damascus is recorded in Shalmaneser III's annals as the major military force in the region (COS 2.113A), thus posing the question as to when and how the city developed into such a substantial political and military power.

The archaeological evidence for the 10th century BCE site that must have preceded Adad-idri's influential capital, however, is even more meager than that of ancient Tyre.⁴⁸ With the modern city of Damascus situated above it, historians have been left with the impossible task of inferring the locations of ancient palaces and temples of the Iron Age Aramean city based on the topography of the contemporary urban area.⁴⁹ Though few would deny Damascus's existence in the 10th century BCE, clues as to the origins of the powerful Aramean city that came to control an extensive Iron Age kingdom are nevertheless embedded beneath the populous modern capital, and thus are unavailable to archaeological excavation.

Aleppo

A third illustration of the tenuous relationship between the history of a place and its material remains reaches further back in time and up the Mediterranean coast to the city of Aleppo. Situated in the north of modern Syria, the sprawling modern city of Aleppo (Halab), as with Damascus, Tyre, and Jerusalem, sits atop the ancient ruins of the communities that preceded it, though excavations at the location have been highly restricted because of the size and layout of the contemporary urban area. From Bronze Age references in the Mari archive and from letters sent out of Aleppo at this time by the city's own king, Yarim-Lim, historians have been able to determine—only after the Mari archive's discovery in the early 1930s—that Aleppo was once the seat of a powerful Bronze Age kingdom known as Yamhad. According to the descriptions of Yamhad found in these ancient texts, the north Syrian site, along with other polities in the eastern Mediterranean, traded and sparred with the dominant centers of Mesopotamia throughout the first half of the 2nd millennium BCE.⁵⁰

Rather than through its material remains, the actual significance of Aleppo and Yamhad was only first realized through an indirect reference to the kingdom in a letter sent out from Mari: "There is no king who is strong by himself:

10 or 15 kings follow Hammurabi of Babylon, as many follow Rim-Sin of Larsa, Ibalpiel of Eshnunna and Amutpiel of Qatna, while 20 kings follow Yarim-Lim of Yamhad.⁵¹ The description of Yamhad's power by one of its rivals in a private letter revealed what archaeologists could not deduce from the limited archaeological evidence of the site: namely, that Aleppo was once the center of a substantial kingdom in the early 2nd millennium whose influence rivaled that of the famed Hammurabi of Babylon.⁵² Absent of notable material remains and unable to excavate large sections of this Bronze Age city, the true historical character of ancient Aleppo was, accordingly, dramatically reframed through those textual references about it in the Mari archive. The relationship between the archaeological record of Aleppo and its significance in antiquity thus provides another important admonition against a historical methodology whose conclusions are swayed by the sole consideration of the presence and availability of material remains.

The sites of Tyre, Damascus, and Aleppo offer a cautionary tale for the historian attempting to investigate the history of an ancient location, as the relationship between available material evidence and the history of a site may not always be proportional. While the three ancient cities discussed above are certainly not perfect analogues to 10th-century BCE Jerusalem (as the latter has experienced a manner of archaeological scrutiny that the previous three sites have not), these examples of the difficulties in assessing the historical character of a place based on its material evidence alone—regardless of whether one examines a Phoenician, Aramean, or Israelite settlement—remain pertinent.

For the history of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem, these general observations are compounded, however, by certain obstacles particular to the site itself.⁵³ First, the common practice in ancient Jerusalem of reusing quarried stone from older buildings in the construction of new edifices—instead of quarrying additional stone or employing a different building material (such as mud-brick)—resulted in the absence of clear stratigraphic indicators during the many centuries in the Bronze and Iron Ages when Jerusalem avoided destruction. Kenyon writes on her excavation in Jerusalem that:

Where in the Near East local stone is not available, houses and town walls are built of mud-brick. When they fall down, the bricks revert to mud, and their successors are constructed on top of the resultant mound of debris. In this way a *tell*, or a man-made hill, grows up to mark the site of an ancient settlement. The state of affairs is very different when the local rock produces stone suitable for use in building. When a house falls down, the stones forming the debris can be recovered to use again, and it is easier to do this than to quarry new stone. Even in our excavations today, every stone we excavate is carefully set aside by the owners of the land for use in the new houses that one and all are planning to build.⁵⁴

In addition to the reuse of older building material throughout Jerusalem's history, the practice of constructing new buildings with local stone compelled Jerusalem's early engineers, particularly during the Roman era, to clear away previous structures down to the bedrock when securing and leveling their new buildings on the settlement. The result of this activity was that the previous architecture that might have existed beneath a certain structure was thoroughly destroyed, leaving few remains that could attest to former pre-Roman periods within the city.⁵⁵ And, lastly, the topography of Jerusalem, particularly along the hilly slopes of the City of David where archaeology has been most manageable in relation to the modern city, is particularly susceptible to erosion.⁵⁶ Consequently, the areas where early Iron Age remains are most likely to be found in Jerusalem are also those spaces that have suffered some of the greatest deterioration in the last three thousand years.

Fortune has also played a part in Jerusalem's archaeological challenges. The various Bronze Age settlements located at Jerusalem, perhaps due to its more inland location and its natural defensive topography, escaped the widespread destruction that affected so many Canaanite cities during the transition from the Bronze to Iron Age periods.⁵⁷ The continued occupation of the city from its inception in the Bronze Age to its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar over a thousand years later thus precluded the accumulation of clear occupational strata (i.e. destruction levels). At the same time, the absence of significant periods of destruction offered the inhabitants of the ancient site the opportunity, as noted above, to reuse and occupy structures built centuries before, thereby blurring the archaeological lines between what buildings were in use in what periods.⁵⁸ And, finally, certain areas of Jerusalem, most notably that of the Temple Mount or Haram esh-Sharif, are, as with particular precincts of Aleppo, Tyre, and Damascus, off limits to excavation.

For the Jerusalem of the early 10th century BCE, this final point is significant. Following E. Knaut's earlier proposal regarding the location of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Jerusalem,⁵⁹ Finkelstein et al. have recently argued that Jerusalem's earliest settlements would have been situated atop the Temple Mount area rather than, as traditionally understood, on the ridge of the City of David.⁶⁰ The attractiveness of this proposal stems foremost from its capacity to account for the dearth of LBA, Iron I, and Iron IIA period finds from the City of David during eras in which textual sources characterize Jerusalem as being an important highland settlement. By situating the primary occupation area of these Jerusalems atop the Temple Mount and beneath the Herodian platform, the City of David would, with this view, be understood as a mostly marginal space of settlement activity outside of Jerusalem proper during those periods in antiquity in which Jerusalem's population was more limited (i.e. LBA, Iron I, IIA).⁶¹ Significant archaeological evidence from these eras in the City of David would not be expected, then, since this area would have only been lightly occupied during

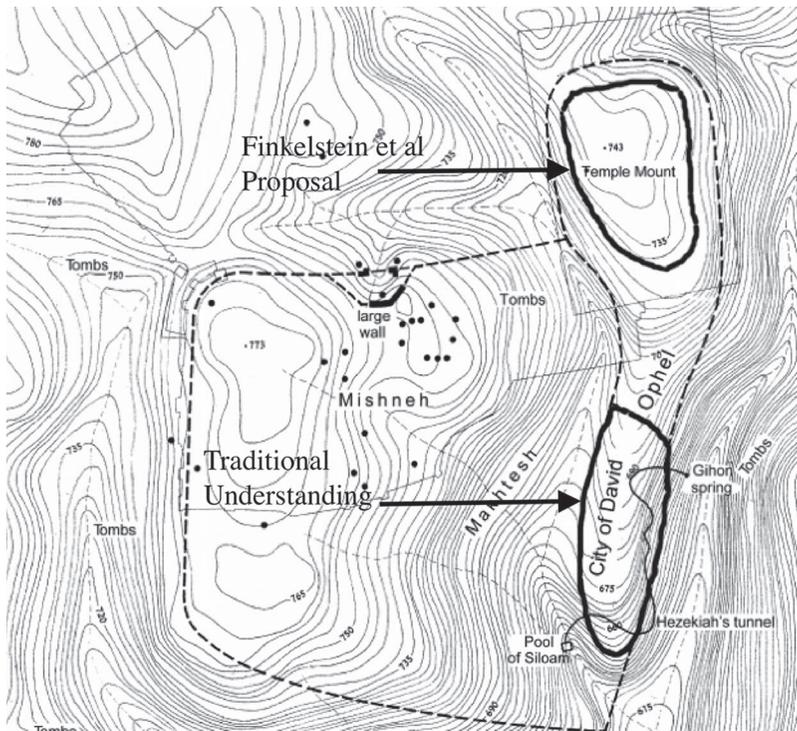


Figure 4.5 Finkelstein et al. Proposal for Original Jerusalem Settlement

those moments when Jerusalem's area had contracted to the Temple Mount above.

The immediate advantage of Finkelstein et al.'s proposal is that it explains why more impressive material remains have not been recovered from excavations in the City of David without having to invoke those processes of erosion and rebuilding activity referred to above. In addition, the placement of early Jerusalem atop the Temple Mount addresses the stubborn question as to why the narrow ridge of the City of David would have been occupied in antiquity when the Temple Mount and neighboring Western Hill were both positioned at higher elevations, and thus provided a more natural setting, in terms of defense, for these early communities. If, instead, the earliest Jerusalem settlements were located on the Temple Mount, their defensive position would have been immediately improved by virtue of the location's higher elevation and those valleys—the Kidron, Tyropoeon, and Bethesda—that would have surrounded it in nearly every direction.⁶²

Yet, in spite of the merits of this hypothesis, a number of weaknesses persist with this view. The first difficulty resides in the location of the Gihon Spring. If, as this proposal suggests, the original Jerusalem settlement was located on the Temple Mount, this community would have then resided

some 300 meters to the north of this crucial water source, and thus the position of this settlement would have been of little strategic value during times of conflict. Finkelstein et al. cite the distance of Samaria from a natural spring and that city's need to subsist on water collected from cisterns as a possible analogue to Jerusalem's circumstances,⁶³ but the monumental, Middle Bronze Age fortifications built precisely around the Gihon Spring find no parallel to Samaria, and suggest that the residents of Middle Bronze Age Jerusalem went to great lengths to fortify and defend their source of water located near the City of David.⁶⁴

The fact that Jerusalem's residents in the Middle Bronze Age invested such a tremendous amount of human capital and energy to protect and draw from this spring requires Finkelstein et al. to suggest that the original Middle Bronze Age area of Jerusalem extended down from the Temple Mount to these monumental remains, since this impressive defensive fortification would have likely had to connect in some way to the site of Jerusalem itself during this time. Establishing a fortification link between the Temple Mount and the Gihon, however, makes this proposed Jerusalem of the 2nd millennium BCE, now comprised of the Temple Mount area down through the northern sector of the City of David that abutted the Gihon, a considerably larger site than previously understood—almost doubling Jerusalem's size and suddenly making it the most consequential Middle Bronze Age site in Canaan, surpassing even that of Middle Bronze Age Shechem. That no trace of Middle Bronze Age remains have been recovered on the northern sector of the City of David or the Ophel area where, ostensibly, the Temple Mount community and City of David settlement would have had to join during this period, provides a serious impediment to this proposal. The problem of the monumental Middle Bronze Age fortifications around the Gihon thus remains a “perplexing” problem for the authors of this hypothesis, and a “riddle.”⁶⁵

A second weakness with this proposal is its inability to account for the Stepped Stone Structure located on the eastern slope of the City of David. Though the date of the stone mantle constructed atop these terraces remains subject to debate,⁶⁶ the large terraces beneath this mantle date to the Iron I era, and therefore attest to an impressive feat of engineering within this area of Jerusalem at this time. Ignoring the character of these Iron I terraces⁶⁷ thus leaves unexplained the function of this architecture and the building or buildings they would have once supported in the Iron I period. The suggestion that this stepped structure supported some form of a fortress guarding the Gihon, but which existed as a fortification detached and separate from the original settlement on the Temple Mount,⁶⁸ would make this impressive support system a curious entity, and such a proposal finds no parallel to any other site plan for a highland city in the southern Levant from the Iron I/Iron IIA period. Thus, as with the Middle Bronze Age fortifications around the Gihon, the important Iron I/IIA remains located to the west of the Gihon make it more likely that the earliest Jerusalem

communities were connected to these archaeological features, and thus sat atop the ridge of the City of David.

Lastly, a substantial difficulty with this proposal stems from the fact that it cannot be investigated archaeologically, and will not be able to be explored through excavations in the foreseeable future. The seductiveness of this vision of Jerusalem's early location corresponds then to the fact that it cannot be disproved. Yet when confronted with the perpetual inscrutability of this proposal its explanatory power decreases substantially, and for this reason the historian is driven back to those Bronze and early Iron Age remains that have been unearthed in the City of David.

In light of these concerns, the following retains the traditional understanding of Bronze and early Iron Age Jerusalem and its location on the spur of the City of David. From the perspective of this study, the primary reason for the early occupation of this area of Jerusalem is, as Kenyon underscored, its access to the perennial water supply of the Gihon.⁶⁹ Because of this water resource, the Middle Bronze Age residents of Jerusalem constructed a massive fortification around the spring to protect those drawing water from it, with thick walls running up from the Gihon to an area on top of the City of David. Later, Iron I occupants fortified, or refortified, the most vulnerable area of the settlement to the north of the City of David with a large complex of buildings or, perhaps, a fortress.⁷⁰ The absence of more substantial archaeological features from the City of David itself for these eras must therefore be attributed to millennia of building activity and erosion that took place within this vicinity, and to the modest character of these settlements in comparison to the larger cities that were constructed above them. The value of Finkelstein et al.'s proposal, however, is that it once again raises crucial questions regarding the connection between ancient Jerusalem's archaeological and textual traces, and thus invites new, interpretive frameworks for understanding this relationship.

4.2.2 A History of Place: Possibilities

A consideration of the predicaments involved in reconstructing the history of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem has the advantage of opening up new possibilities for reflecting on what can be said about the historical character of this ancient site. The poor condition of the settlement's material remains and the difficulties involved in their recovery necessitates that an evaluation of the site's history depart from those interpretive frameworks, still common, in which a taxonomy of archaeological traits specific to neo-evolutionary categories of "urbanization" or "bureaucratization" are used to determine Jerusalem's historical status during this time.⁷¹ Over against these approaches, a different hermeneutical method is advocated for here that endeavors to attend to the particularity of this Jerusalem as it existed in the early 10th century BCE, and that is sensitive to the difficult,

but enduring, relationship between the site's material culture and those memories preserved about it within ancient texts.

In order to frame this discussion, I take as my guide in the following the work of H. Lefebvre on the embodied experience of space.⁷² My reason for adopting the theoretical writings of Lefebvre at this juncture is due to their penetrating insights into how a location exerts its influence on an individual in multiple, often unconscious ways, whether through the structuring of bodily movement through particular passageways, or in a location's capacity to convey certain ideas through its architecture and imagery. What Lefebvre's arguments concerning space and experience require from the historian, then, is an approach to the history of place that takes into account the various dimensions of spatial experience that may have once occurred within a given site. Consequently, early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem is examined in the following as both a concrete place of social interaction and a site capable of eliciting certain ideas, beliefs, and memories through its natural and built environment.

To distill and set apart these realms of spatial experience within early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem, my reconstruction of the settlement is loosely structured on Lefebvre's tripartite division of space into the domains of the perceived, conceived, and lived spheres of a location.⁷³ To begin, my reconstruction of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem commences with a consideration of the daily life that once occurred within this settlement. A focus on the quotidian, I contend, has been a neglected area of research within histories devoted to David's Jerusalem, and yet the story of this Jerusalem is first and foremost the story of that agrarian community who once lived within its spaces and used the location to support a way of life directly dependent on the agrarian milieu in which this Jerusalem was enmeshed. My historical investigation in this section is thus given over to how Jerusalem's topography, climate, and homes, to cite only a few examples, influenced the agrarian practices typical of a late Iron I/early Iron IIA Jerusalemite resident.

4.3 EARLY 10TH-CENTURY BCE JERUSALEM: AN AGRARIAN COMMUNITY

Even in the midst of decline at the turn of the 1st millennium BCE, venerable ancient Near Eastern cities to the east and west of Jerusalem enclosed opulent temples and palatial residences that attested to the craftsmanship and ingenuity of over two thousand years of urban engineering that had already transpired in the region.⁷⁴ An individual from the Assyrian capital of Assur at the turn of the 1st millennium BCE, for example, would have been accustomed to walking amidst a large capital center situated strategically on an outcropping that overlooked the well-traveled Tigris River. Gazing at the monumental city as one entered or departed through its gates, the awe-inspiring, ancient ziggurat dedicated to Assur's divine namesake, as

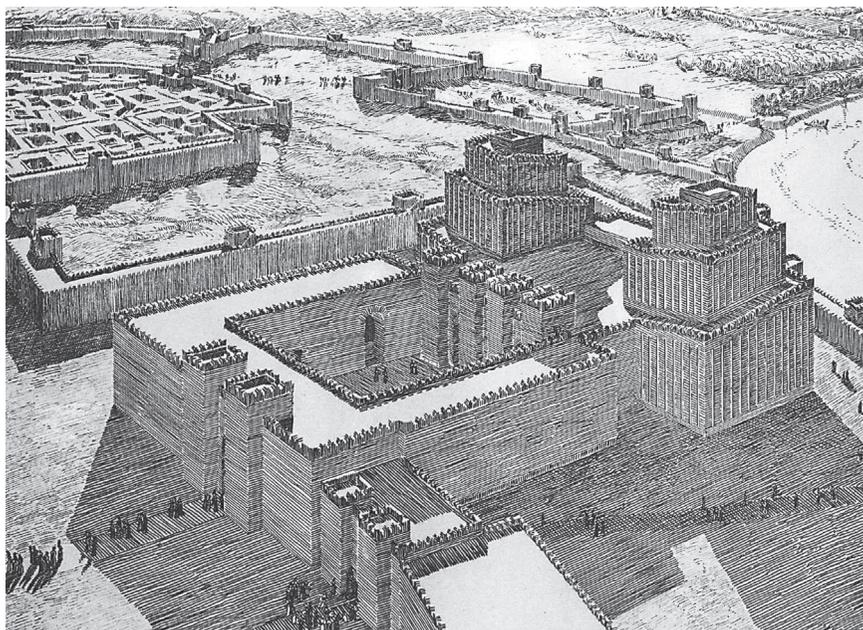


Figure 4.6 Reconstruction of Ancient Assur by Its Excavator, W. Andrae

well as the more recently renovated twin sanctuaries to the gods Anu and Adad, would have loomed large over the urban landscape.⁷⁵ In leaving the city, an individual would have passed over a large moat and likely advanced by the exotic gardens planted by former kings, with the remarkable palace of Tiglath Pileser I, renovated a century earlier, providing a closing visual validation of the greatness of the Assyrian king and cult as one flowed down the great river that Assur oversaw.⁷⁶

The Egyptian empire to the southwest of Jerusalem also boasted of numerous venerable cities. An individual from Egypt traveling northward along to the Mediterranean coast in the early 10th century BCE would have likely advanced by way of the royal city of the twenty-first dynasty, Tanis, situated in the northeast region of the Delta at the entrance to the Levant. Tanis was a city whose very stones clung to the past. So numerous, in fact, were the cartouches, quarried stone, and monuments transported from the former capital of Pi-Ramesses to the new royal center that initial excavators confused the identity of Tanis with that of its imperial predecessor.⁷⁷ A traveler who encountered Tanis would have likely been most impressed by the spaces of the magnificent royal enclosure of the city: surrounding the great temple to Amun and the massive obelisks demarcating its spaces, temples to the other Theban gods Mut and Khonsu, intricate sculptures and hieroglyphic renderings of both present and past pharaohs, and the presence of artificial lakes all would have offered testimony to the cultural legacy and

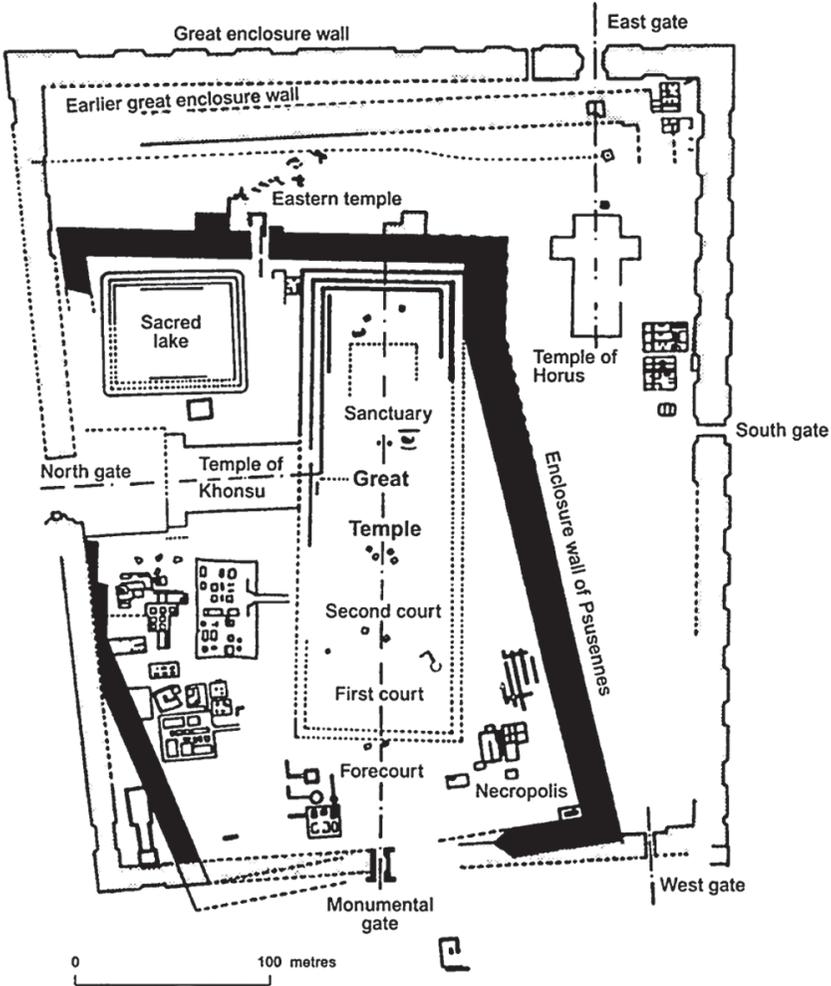


Figure 4.7 Plan of Royal Compound at Ancient Tanis

political might enjoyed by an Egyptian kingdom even in the grip of political degeneration.⁷⁸

Travelers from the great kingdoms to the east and west of Jerusalem would have thus brought with them tales of lavish festivals that filled the spaces of their cities, of the sights and sounds of captivating cultic ceremonies offered to the deities that dwelled in the many temples that were situated in their urban centers, and of the imposing presence of royal, dynastic families gathered into large palatial complexes.

Early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem bore few of these distinguishing characteristics. In comparison with the great urban centers of its time, Jerusalem was a bucolic, unadorned location that was quite modest in size and status. Irrespective of the compositional history behind the biblical portrayal of Saul and David as farmers and pastoralists (1 Sam 11:5–8; 2 Sam 16:11–12), it is striking, given the profound differences in the material remains of early Iron Age Jerusalem and the monumental ancient Near Eastern cities of its era, that Israel's first kings were portrayed by later biblical scribes not as urban sophisticates residing in large palatial cities, but as rulers whose former lives were preoccupied largely with agrarian concerns. To argue that these representations were used to evoke an idealized image of early leaders by later biblical scribes would only underscore the peculiarity of these portrayals: while gathering together stories and writing from a much larger Jerusalem, those responsible for these stories contended that in former times, it was farmers and pastoralists, and not dynastic elites descended from large city-states, who were called upon to provide leadership to the highland areas of the southern Levant.

Such literary depictions of Israel's early leaders provide a fitting entrée into the distinctly agrarian character of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem. Though this small, four-to-five hectare settlement was dwarfed in size by the massive centers of Tanis (ca.177 hectares) and Assur (ca.120 hectares) to its east and west, Jerusalem's built-up area at this time was nevertheless typical of other important settlements in the central highland region that,⁷⁹ in the transition from the Iron I to Iron II periods, would experience accelerated growth in both size and population.⁸⁰ In detailing the agrarian spaces of this Jerusalem, it is important to recognize then that the early 10th-century BCE site was much different than that more impressive city of the late Iron Age discussed in chapter two, whose sudden growth to ca. sixty-five hectares in the late 8th century BCE made it the largest urban center in the southern Levant. Consequently, while Jerusalem was to become a more significant highland center in the centuries following the Iron IIA period, the Jerusalem of the early 10th century BCE should not be confused with the larger, rebellious city of Hezekiah or the centralized capital of Josiah.

By labeling early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem an agrarian community, I mean to suggest that the everyday existence within the location was based fundamentally “on the health of the land and of living creatures”⁸¹ within Jerusalem's environs. This consideration of agrarian life has received only minimal treatment in studies devoted to the history and archaeology of David's Jerusalem, and yet in reconstructing the spaces of the early 10th-century BCE site, it is the agrarian element—above that of the royal or cultic—that would have been most conspicuous as one walked Jerusalem's ancient pathways and encountered its inhabitants.

In approaching this Jerusalem from the south on the road that connected it with Bethlehem, the first indication of the settlement's agrarian milieu at

the turn of the 1st millennium BCE would have been the fields and terraces that surrounded it. Evidence for small-scale, terraced agriculture in Jerusalem's vicinity extends as far back as the Early Bronze Age in the Judean Hills,⁸² with the nearby sites of et-Tell and Khirbet Raddana, for example, attesting to the continued practice of limited, terraced farming in the area into the early Iron Age.⁸³ The impressive Iron I terraces built into Jerusalem's eastern slope demonstrate convincingly that Jerusalem's inhabitants, much like neighboring highland peoples in the region, possessed the knowledge and technology required to build terraces by the early 10th century BCE.

The presence of terraced architecture in early Iron Age Jerusalem, the utilization of such terraces for agricultural purposes in other nearby highland sites of the period, and the dramatic intensification of terraced farming in the late Iron Age around Jerusalem all provide important evidence,⁸⁴ consequently, that more limited terraced farming would have also occurred within Jerusalem's environs in the early 10th century BCE.⁸⁵ The reason for developing terraces along the Kidron and other valleys near Jerusalem at this time would have been due to the fact that such a system prevented the thin terra rossa soil of the area from eroding along the valley slopes of the region during the brief moments of heavy precipitation,⁸⁶ and thus also increased water penetration into the soil during these periods of rainfall.⁸⁷ The impressive technological achievement of terracing, however, did not come without a price for the Jerusalemite community: clearing ancient forests, transporting tremendous amounts of soil from valley floors and nearby locations to the terraced hillsides, moving large stones to construct terrace walls, and the engineering expertise needed to orient the terraces to the slope of the valley on which they were built required extensive time and labor that made

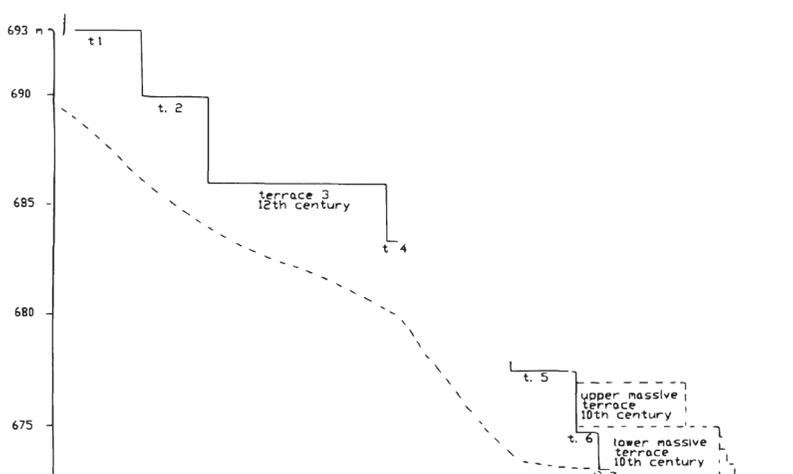


Figure 4.8 Cross Section of Kenyon's Trench I Illustrating Terraced Engineering on the Eastern Slope of Jerusalem

terracing, in the end, a much more arduous undertaking than nonterraced agriculture.⁸⁸ That terracing was introduced and survived in the highlands of the southern Levant attests not only to its necessity in supporting a sizable population on the hilly terrain, but also speaks to the ability of agrarian communities such as Jerusalem to work together and amass a large enough labor force to maintain this challenging farming system.⁸⁹

Finds from the 11th-century BCE Tel el-Fûl and 10th-century BCE Beth-Shemesh suggest that the fields around Jerusalem, baked hard in the hot and dry summer months, may have been cultivated by utilizing the new technology of iron plow points,⁹⁰ though the nascent understanding of iron smelting during this time meant that the use of bronze would have persisted in the region.⁹¹ Yet, regardless of the technology used for the point of a typical scratch plow, (figure 4.9 below) the health of the barley and wheat crops around Jerusalem were ultimately dependent on the early winter rains that softened the ground for cultivation and provided moisture for bedded seeds to germinate. The inconsistency of these winter rains and the ever-present threat of drought for Jerusalem's residents have led to the speculation that slits, or "windows," located within Channel II of the City of David's subterranean waterworks supported fields in the Kidron Valley below the site,⁹² but evidence for this irrigation system remains inconclusive.⁹³

Owing to the agricultural risks associated with the semiarid climate of Jerusalem, fruit-bearing trees and vines grown on the terraces of the settlement would have been crucial to agricultural production because such plants



Figure 4.9 Scratch Plow from Tomb of Sennedjem (ca. 1280 BCE)



Figure 4.10 Olive Trees Grown on Terraces along Kidron Valley in Modern Jerusalem

were cared for and harvested at different seasons from the cereal crops situated on the more level plains and valley floors.⁹⁴

The staggered agricultural calendar introduced by the presence of orchards and vineyards thus offered a Jerusalemite family the opportunity to extend the sowing, weeding, and harvesting seasons by planting crops requiring maintenance at varied intervals throughout the year. As a result of this agricultural schedule, a typical Jerusalemite farmer would have cycled through the seasons with a series of distinct agrarian tasks: planting cereals after the first rains in October, continuing the sowing and plowing around the rains and into December, transitioning into the planting of legumes in February, weeding the young crops until the barley harvest in March/April, continuing with the wheat harvest in April/May, preparing for the grape harvest of June/July, and concluding the agriculture cycle with the final olive harvest of August/September.

The seven lines of a late 10th-century BCE “calendar” provides a contemporary window into this annual cycle from the perspective of an individual dwelling at the site of Gezer, thirty kilometers west of Jerusalem:

Two months of ingathering. Two months
Of sowing (grain). Two months of planting (legumes)

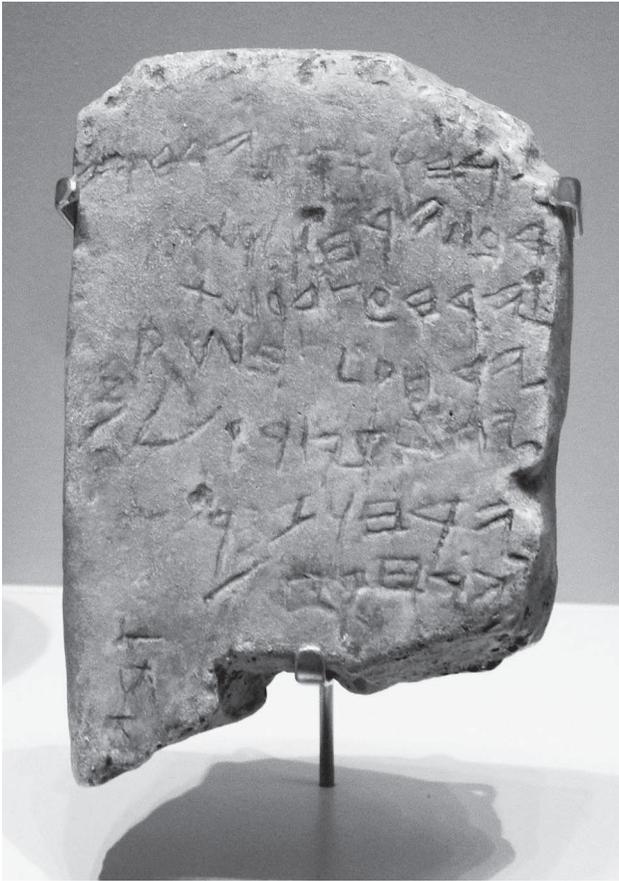


Figure 4.11 Replica of Gezer Calendar in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem

- A month for the cutting of (flax? undergrowth?)
- A month of harvesting barley
- A month of harvesting (wheat) and measuring
- Two months of pruning
- A month of gathering in late summer fruit

The great advantage of this agrarian calendar was then twofold in that it spread out agricultural risk in times of drought and permitted families to work their land throughout the year without having to rely on large amounts of outside labor. The intense cereal harvest, however, when the majority of Jerusalem's inhabitants, women and men alike, would spend the better part of their days working in the hot, dry conditions of early summer, would have compelled the entire community of David's Jerusalem to



Figure 4.12 Egyptian Scene of Threshing Grain from the Tomb of Menna (ca. 1370 BCE)

cooperate with one another through shared labor. Traces of these communal agricultural activities would have been perhaps most noticeable at the important threshing floors located at elevated positions on the outskirts of Jerusalem (2 Sam 24) or perhaps by entrances into the site (e.g., Keilah [1 Sam 23:1] and Samaria [1 Kgs 22:10]).

As one drew nearer to this Jerusalem, the landscape surrounding the early 10th-century BCE site would have been marked with small fields populated with cereals and terraces covered with vines and fruit-bearing trees. Gazing to the east of the location and down the Kidron Valley, the famous gardens and parks of late Iron Age kings (2 Kgs 23:4; 25:4; Jer 39:4) may have had their earlier, more modest progenitors spread along the terraced valley and its floor, and the slopes of the Tyropoeon and Bethesda valleys would have ostensibly been used for agricultural purposes at this time as well. Subject to whether one arrived in the rainy or dry season, the terrain of Jerusalem would have thus oscillated between its saffron-cream limestone rocks, the auburn of its terra rossa soil, and the radiant greens of its foliage.

Advancing along the hilly landscape of the Judean hills and entering into the settlement itself, the agrarian atmosphere of the spaces within Jerusalem would have been quickly apparent. The pathways of David's center would not have reflected commercial sensibilities, with different courses leading to a large central market or forming sectors between residential areas and those of trade and commerce. Rather, thoroughfares in David's Jerusalem, as in

other early Iron Age settlements built on the summits of hills or along the ridges of the highland terrain (e.g. et-Tell, Tell en-Nasbeh, Beth-Shemesh) followed the topography of the landscape on which they were situated, with corridors in Jerusalem being formed down and running parallel to the slopes of the City of David. When, in the 8th century BCE, a city plan of small sections of Jerusalem emerges from the archaeological record, narrow alleyways leading to the city wall appear between homes, as does a paved road encircling the periphery of the site.⁹⁵

With the vast majority of Jerusalem's men engaged in agricultural labor outside of Jerusalem, a visitor to David's ruling center would quickly realize that it was women who, when not also participating in fieldwork, directed the daily rhythm of the spaces within the settlement itself. Gathered together in formal and informal organizations so as to most efficiently engage the critical technologies of food preparation and storage,⁹⁶ textile construction, and obstetrics, such work was essential to the social fabric and welfare of David's royal center. Given the prominence and necessity of these tasks, a bias toward patriarchal designations for life within David's Jerusalem, or any Iron Age highland site, requires considerable redress. In David's Jerusalem, it was women and not men who would have controlled the vast majority of daily practices and movements within the settlement.⁹⁷



Figure 4.13 Town Plan of Tell Beit Mirsim Showing Narrow Alleyways between Homes

Roaming amid wagons overflowing with straw, draft animals securely fastened to homes, and sheep and goats filtering into specially constructed doorways of Jerusalemite houses,⁹⁸ the passages located between the closely grouped homes in Jerusalem, as in other highland settlements of its time, bustled with activities devoted to agrarian life. Devoid of city sanitation measures and containing a sizable animal population housed within domestic structures, the crude odors emanating out of Jerusalem's pathways would have been quite malodorous, but common to civic life in antiquity. That, over time, individuals had to enter their houses "from above" by stepping down from street level into their homes speaks as well to the tendency of residents to throw their refuse directly onto the areas outside of the home, a practice that led to the rising of street levels ("I beat them finely like the dust of the earth, like the mire of the streets I crushed them, I stamped them down" [2 Sam 22:43]; "I beat them fine, as the dust before the wind; I emptied them out like the mire [onto] the streets" [Psalm 18:43]). In addition to animal waste and food refuse, human sanitation was a constant problem,⁹⁹ with the rain runoff that filtered through city sewage being a persistent threat of contamination and disease for such settlements. A scatological sample recovered from a wealthy late Iron Age Jerusalemite home revealed that even its owner suffered from two intestinal parasites, tapeworm and whipworm—the latter of which stemmed from eating food contaminated with fecal matter.¹⁰⁰

Walking along early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem's corridors, the most conspicuous aspects of the site's agrarian character to modern eyes would have been the homes of its inhabitants. A relative similarity in the appearance and layout of domestic structures would have characterized David's Jerusalem, reflecting in particular the demographic conditions of an agrarian society in which joint-family residences predominated.¹⁰¹ Domestic structures exhibiting a notable difference in size have been located in Iron I–IIA strata from such widespread sites as Khirbet Raddana, Tell el-Fâr'ah (North), and Tell en-Nasbeh, indicating that these locations likely contained homes grouped together according to the patrilineal ties of the *bêt 'āb*, with larger joint-family structures (housing ten persons, on average) being located next to smaller, nuclear homes situated around or connected to them.¹⁰² Constructed of local limestone quarried from Jerusalem's hills, such joint-family households would have populated the spur of the City of David and, in time, extended down along the slopes of the site.¹⁰³

The architectural layout of the homes of David's Jerusalem would have been of the type characterized most commonly as "pillared."¹⁰⁴ Distinguished frequently by the presence of parallel rooms running nearly the length of the home, these domiciles, such as those contemporaneous examples recovered at the nearby early Iron Age sites of Khirbet Raddana, Khirbet ed-Dawwara, and et-Tell, received their designation due to the row or rows of stone pillars that sectioned the building and supported a second

floor or roof. This distinct layout produced a home in which a central room contained space for movement and some domestic activities, with smaller side rooms to the left and right being available for other domestic tasks and, perhaps most importantly, to house animals.¹⁰⁵ Describing the common practice of sheltering animals in Israelite homes, King and Stager write:

Storage, livestock, and workshops occupied the space on the ground floor of the pillared house. The narrower side rooms functioned as stables and shelters for livestock. . . . Mangers for the feeding of animals were located between the pillars, which functioned as room dividers as well as supports for the roof or upper story, their most important function.¹⁰⁶

Most noteworthy about the architecture of these Iron Age houses was thus their applicability to agrarian life. Entering into these homes in Jerusalem and walking (or stooping for those over 1.6 meters tall) along the first floor, one would have noticed stables for the care of livestock to the right and left, other side rooms devoted to textual production and the maintenance of agrarian tools, and a central corridor with a possible cistern and pits for grain storage. In back, the final, broad room would have likely been utilized for more storage, including that of pottery used for cooking, eating, and

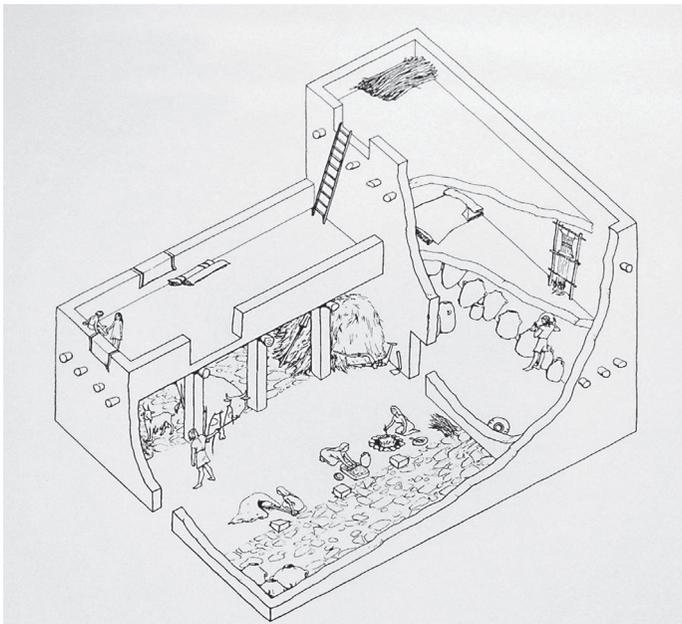


Figure 4.14 Reconstructed Layout of Iron Age Pillared Home

storing food. Nearly every space on the ground floor in a typical Jerusalemite home, from this perspective, would have been devoted in some measure to agrarian requirements. Indeed, the very form of the pillared house was indicative of its function, with the specific design of its architecture being “first and foremost *a successful adaptation to farm life.*”¹⁰⁷

The meal prepared for a visitor who entered into such a home would have reflected these agrarian means and sensibilities. With grain providing over half of the caloric intake of a typical Jerusalemite during this time, the primary component of a meal was likely breads or grain-based porridges.¹⁰⁸ Supplementing these items would have been vegetables, pulses, fruit, and, based on faunal remains recovered from early Iron Age Jerusalem, some meat. Of the animal bones recovered from this period in Jerusalem's history, 85% stem from ovids (sheep) and caprids (goats), with an additional 12% from bovids (cattle),¹⁰⁹ suggesting that when meat was served at a meal during the early 10th century BCE, the proteins prepared consisted mostly of local sheep, goats, or cattle that grazed on the land surrounding Jerusalem. Water from the Gihon may have been offered to a thirsty guest, but most meals would have also been coupled with milk taken directly from a family's domestic animals or wine produced from the vineyards located in Jerusalem's agricultural hinterland. The food offerings of bread and cakes said to have been provided by David to Jerusalem's inhabitants on the entry of the ark into the city (2 Sam 6:19), regardless of the text's date and provenance, is thus reflective of this modest agrarian diet, and stands in sharp contrast to the descriptions of both Solomon's and Ashurnasirpal II's lavish royal banquets (1 Kgs 8; ANET 558–603).

With the agrarian activities centered on the first floor, the upper levels and roof of a pillared home were likely the spaces used predominantly for more customary domestic needs (i.e. sleep, recreation).¹¹⁰ The particular architectural layout of these homes, like the terraced fields that surrounded Jerusalem, would have demanded a large amount of labor for their construction. From a comparative angle, D. Clark estimates that the amount of time needed to build the first story walls of a pillared home in early Iron Age Tall al-'Umayri was one month for four men and a donkey.¹¹¹ Given that this labor would have revolved around customary agrarian obligations during the day, the outer walls alone of a typical domicile in Jerusalem would have required a number of months to build. Add to this the construction of another story and divisions between rooms and one begins to understand the energy and communal ties necessary to build the agrarian homes needed to support a subsistence way of life in the highland region. The mix of livestock, straw dust, animal dung reserved for fuel, and the pests that accompanied them would have made for rather loathsome conditions within these homes from a modern perspective, but the heat given off by the animals in winter and the ability to live a self-sustaining existence



Figure 4.15 Raised, Open-Air Sanctuary from Iron Age Tel Dan

would have overridden any discommodious circumstances. That the design of these agrarian domestic structures were employed in numerous public buildings strewn throughout cities in ancient Israel illustrates as well the manner in which the architecture of the region, both public and private, was conditioned by an agrarian worldview.¹¹²

Stepping out from a Jerusalemite home and journeying to the more public spaces of a local sanctuary or sanctuaries within the settlement, the agrarian character of Jerusalem would have also been felt in its public celebrations and feasts.¹¹³ While the descriptions of the three major festivals celebrated in ancient Israel differ in degree within the biblical texts (Ex 12–13, 23, 34; Lev 23; Num 28–29; Deut 16–17) and certainly developed over time,¹¹⁴ they all share, at base, a common focus in their commemoration of agricultural life. Even the Passover feast—the most disconnected of the three festivals from agrarian concerns—remained inseparably linked to an agrarian past in its original relationship to the feast of unleavened bread that marked the beginning of the barley harvest.¹¹⁵

The agrarian festivals in early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem would have most likely begun in the early spring with the ripening of the barley crop and the Feast of Unleavened Bread. According to the biblical traditions, seven weeks after this festival the demanding wheat harvest was concluded with the Festival of Weeks. And, in the most spirited of ancient Israelite festivals,

the final harvest of late, summer produce was brought to an end with the large, year-end celebration of “ingathering,” or the Festival of Booths. As with any cultural practice that leaves behind little written documentation, precisely how these festivals were celebrated in a settlement such as David’s Jerusalem is difficult to ascertain. The emphasis in the biblical writings on offering gifts directly from the harvest and the warning never to appear empty-handed before the deity (Ex 23:15), however, underscores the deep connection between these festivals, agricultural labor, and the divine world. Thus, most important for the present investigation is the manifestly agrarian description of the cultic celebrations from ancient Israel, indicating that even those holy spaces devoted to cultic activities in David’s Jerusalem were deeply integrated into the site’s agrarian milieu.

4.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter’s reflection on the agrarian character of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem has attempted to reframe discussions of the history and archaeology of the site by concentrating on the everyday conditions that would have prevailed within the settlement during the Davidic period. Viewing the ancient location through this lens raises (at least) three historical considerations. First, any reconstruction of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem that isolates the location’s history from its agrarian context distorts what was in fact a society in which both larger and smaller highland settlements were deeply interwoven into and dependent upon the agricultural land that surrounded them.¹¹⁶ Importantly, this dependence during the Davidic period was not simply one in which agricultural goods were brought into Jerusalem’s precincts by outside farmers through trade and taxation, as was likely often the case when the rural landscape surrounding Jerusalem, much like the city itself, increased in population and blossomed with farmsteads and small villages in the late Iron Age.¹¹⁷ Rather, in the more modest settlement of the early 10th century BCE, nearly all of the residents of Jerusalem would have been farmers and pastoralists themselves, leading lives consumed with agrarian tasks in the lands immediately surrounding the site. As with the description of Saul returning to Gibeah after a day of plowing (1 Sam 11:5) or Absalom’s servants burning the barley fields of Joab (2 Sam 14:29–33), it is reasonable to envision most of the families of early 10th-century Jerusalem deeply involved in agricultural tasks. An important purpose of dwelling in a place such as Jerusalem during the late Iron I/early Iron IIA era, and perhaps a key function of the Stepped Stone Structure and the monumental building or buildings it once supported, was thus to offer this agrarian community a place of refuge and security from forces attempting to pirate away its valuable agrarian resources (cf. Judg 6:3–6; 1 Sam 23:1).

Second, any sense of social stratification observed among the inhabitants of David's Jerusalem at the beginning of the 10th century BCE would have been based less on distinctions in the accumulation of capital through commerce and more on the successes and failures of agricultural life within kinship units.¹¹⁸ This is not to suggest that differences in wealth and status would not have been manifest between leading families or ruling "houses" who owned or acquired the best and most sizable lands surrounding Jerusalem,¹¹⁹ but rather that such wealth disparities in David's Jerusalem would have been due to factors specifically related to an agrarian economy: the size of a family and the amount of arable land at the family's disposal.¹²⁰ The highly influential analysis of M. Weber and his sharp distinction between the cities of the *gibbôrîm* and the Israelite peasant would, in regard to the agrarian community of Jerusalem at the beginning of the 10th century BCE, therefore be one in which the lives of *gibbôrîm* and farming peasants were often one and the same.¹²¹ The *gibbôrîm* Saul (2 Sam 1:19, 27) and David (1 Sam 16:18) were also perceived as farmers and pastoralists within the biblical corpus, as would have been most of the leading individuals in the early Iron Age settlements of the central highlands.

Third, in attending to the history of everyday life within David's Jerusalem, a more nuanced, "thick" understanding of the site comes into view that takes into account lives often neglected in the archaeology of palaces, temples, or other monumental buildings. This point is not to take away from the significant, fascinating discussions surrounding the date and function of E. Mazar's Large Stone Structure or the nature and extent of Reich and Shukron's massive Middle Bronze Age Gihon fortifications, but it is put forward to balance out a focus on the elite and extraordinary (or lack thereof) that often dominates discussions of the history and archaeology of David's Jerusalem. From Jerusalem's landscape to its streets, its houses to its festivals, the argument here has been that an experience of the early 10th-century BCE settlement would have been one pervaded above all with agrarian features and sensations stemming from an existence directly dependent on agricultural life. The dichotomy that stands within the question posed in the title of Na'aman's important article on Iron Age Jerusalem—"Cow Town or Royal Capital?"¹²²—need not be, then, an either/or: early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem was quite certainly a cow town, but in a predominantly agrarian society of small settlements and limited population, this does not preclude that David's Jerusalem was also an important royal center.

NOTES

1. Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life* (1991): 136.
2. P. Kyle McCarter Jr., "The Historical David" (1986): 117.

3. The *editio princeps* for the fragments were published as Avraham Biran and Joseph Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan" (1993): 81–98; and "The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment" (1995): 1–18.
4. Already by 1998, André Lemaire counted over sixty articles on the inscription, and the more recent book-length treatments of the text by George Athas and by Hallvard Hagelia illustrate the continued interest in this text. André Lemaire, "The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography" (1998): 3–14; George Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription* (2003); Hallvard Hagelia, *The Tel Dan Inscription* (2006).
5. Biran and Naveh, "Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan," 81, 84; idem., "Tel Dan Inscription: New Fragment," 2.
6. Biran and Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan," 81–86.
7. *Ibid.*, 86.
8. Biran and Naveh, "Tel Dan Inscription: New Fragment," 9.
9. See especially Wayne Pitard, *Ancient Damascus: A Historical Study of the Syrian City-State from Earliest Times until its Fall to the Assyrians in 732 B.C.E.* (1987): 145–160.
10. Niels Lemche and Thomas Thompson, "Did Biran Kill David? The Bible in the Light of Archaeology" (1994): 10.
11. Athas, 221.
12. So the argument, in different forms, of Ernst Knauf, Albert de Pury, and Thomas Römer, "**BaytDawīd* ou *BaytDōd*?" (1994): 60–69; Lemche and Thompson, 3–22; Frederick Cryer, "On the Recently-Discovered 'House of David' Inscription" (1994): 3–19; and Thomas Thompson, "'House of David'—An Eponymic Referent to Yahweh as Godfather" (1995): 59–74.
13. Reinhard Lehmann and Marcus Reichel, "Dod und Asima in Tell Dan" (1995): 29–31.
14. F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Space, Line, and the Written Biblical Poem in Texts from the Judean Desert" (2012): 36–40, 51.
15. Masoretic scribes, for example, understood construct phrases as *essentially one word*, giving accent to only one morpheme in the construct and often connecting close junctural phrases with the *maqṣeph*—the equivalent of writing *bláckbird* instead of *bláck bīrd* in English. That there were no *maqṣeps* employed during the era in which the Tel Dan inscription was written makes it then unsurprising that a construct phrase would at times be inscribed as running together; with the absence of *proclisis*, ancient scribes employed multiple ways in which to transcribe construct phrases. For a discussion of this point, see Bruce Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (1990): 64.
16. Gary Rendsburg, "On the Writing בִּית־דָּוִד in the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan" (1995): 22–25; Nadav Na'aman, "Beth-David in the Aramaic Stele from Tel Dan" (1995): 20–21.
17. Na'aman, "Beth-David," 18.
18. Here, it is relevant to mention the independent reconstructions of the end of line thirty-one of the Mesha Stele by A. Lemaire and E. Puech, in which both scholars read a reference to David. Though more ambiguous and less certain than the mention of David in the Tel Dan Inscription due to a break in the Mesha stele, if Lemaire and Puech are correct in their reading, another extrabiblical citation of the "House of David" would exist in an inscription descending from the 9th century BCE. See Emile Puech, "La stèle araméenne de Dan" (1994): 227; André Lemaire, "'House of David' Restored in Moabite Inscription" (1994): 30–37.

19. On the discrepancy between the biblical account of Joram and Ahaziah's death (attributed to Jehu's revolt in 2 Kings 9), and the account provided in the Tel Dan Stele, see William Schniedewind, "The Tel Dan Stela" (1996): 84–86.
20. For example, the designation of Israel and Aram-Damascus by Tiglath-Pileser III in his royal inscriptions. Hayim Tadmor and Shigeo Yamada, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser III (747–727BCE) and Shalmaneser V (726–722BCE), Kings of Assyria* (2011): 49 :rev 3–4 [p. 131].
21. Baruch Halpern, "David Did It, Others Did Not" (2005): 428–29.
22. These are the conclusions reached by the vast majority of scholarship. For the most important of these see, E.R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (1983); Hayim Tadmor, "The Chronology of the First Temple Period" (1984): Appendix 2, 368–83; Gershon Galil, *The Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah* (1996).
23. Jane Cahill, "Jerusalem at the Time of the Monarchy" (2003): 14.
24. Margreet Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967, Volume III* (2001): 113.
25. Yehouda Enzel et.al., "Late Holocene Climates of the Near East deduced from Dead Sea Level Variations" (2003): 263–73; Dafna Langgut et al., "Climate and Late Bronze Collapse" (2013): 161–62.
26. Cahill, "Jerusalem at the Time of the Monarchy," 16.
27. *Ibid.*, 55–56.
28. My approach to demographic estimates follows D. Schloen's discussion of population density across Iron Age Levantine cities, in which he suggests an average of 300–400 persons per hectare within urban areas, and 200–250 people per hectare within smaller settlements and villages. J. David Schloen, *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol* (2001): 168–83.
29. Khirbet Qeiyafa was 2.3 hectares in size, Beth-Shemesh 4 [Stratum III–IIa] was 2.8 hectares, Tell el-Fâr'ah (North) was 2.5 hectares, and Tel Rehov, the largest Iron age site of the Beth-Shean Valley, was ca. 10 hectares in size.
30. Othmar Keel, *Die Geschichte Jerusalems und die Entstehung des Monotheismus*, Vol. I (2007): 33.
31. David Alden Dorsey, *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel* (1991): 40–41.
32. Dorsey, 123–24; Keel, I, 33.
33. Cahill, "Jerusalem at the Time of the Monarchy," 26.
34. Yigal Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David, I* (1984): 26. Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, "A New Segment of the Middle Bronze Fortification in the City of David" (2010): 141–153.
35. William Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (1992). A more sustained treatment of the significance of the Amarna Letters will be taken up in the section of chapter five devoted to the "stronghold" of Jerusalem.
36. On the historical relationship between the archaeological remains of Late Bronze Age Jerusalem and the Amarna Letters, see Nadav Na'aman, "The Contribution of the Amarna Letters to the Debate on Jerusalem's Political Position in the Tenth Century B.C.E." (1996): 17–27; and *idem.*, "The Trowel vs. the Text" (2009): 52–56, 70; Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen M. Kenyon*, 39; Wolfgang Zwickel, "Jerusalem und seine Großregion in der Spätbronzezeit" (2009): 75–86; and Gabriel Barkay, "A Late Bronze Age Temple in Jerusalem?" (1996): 23–43 (Hebrew).
37. R.A.S. Macalister and J.B. Duncan, *Excavations on the Hill of Ophel, Jerusalem, 1923–1925* (1926); Shiloh, *City of David, I*, 7; Cahill, "Jerusalem at the Time of the Monarchy," 35–40; Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen M. Kenyon*, 24, 29–39.

38. Alon De Groot and Hannah Bernick-Greenberg, *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh*, Vol. VIIA (2012): 152. Cahill, “Jerusalem at the Time of the Monarchy,” 57–58;
39. Shiloh, *City of David*, I, 17. De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg, VIIA, 152, 170–72.
40. Eilat Mazar, *The Palace of King David* (2009): 57–62.
41. Amiahi Mazar, “Archaeology and the Biblical Narrative” (2010): 38–40; Avraham Faust, “The Large Stone Structure in Jerusalem” (2010): 121–23.
42. Donald Ariel and Alon de Groot, “The Iron Age Extramural Occupation at the City of David and Additional Observations on the Siloam Channel” (2000): 158.
43. Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I.18.
44. Patricia Maynor Bikai, “Phoenician Tyre” (1992): 46–47.
45. Patricia Maynor Bikai, William J. Fulco, and Jeannie Marchand, *Tyre: The Shrine of Apollo* (1996): xi.
46. Aubert’s detailed history of Tyre during the Iron II period is thus entirely dependent on written sources. María Eugenia Aubert, *The Phoenicians and the West* (2001): 26–46.
47. Pitard, 99–100.
48. Ross Burns, *Damascus: A History* (2005): xx.
49. Pitard, 2–4.
50. Robert Whiting, “Amorite Tribes and Nations of Second Millennium Western Asia,” Vol. II (1995): 1236–37.
51. Georges Dossin, “Les archives épistolaires du palais de Mari” (1938): 105–126.
52. Amélie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East, c. 3000–330 BC*, Vol. I (1995): 100.
53. For a detailed overview of the archaeological challenges faced in excavating Jerusalem, see Keel, 75–79.
54. Kathleen Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History* (1967): 51–52.
55. Shiloh, *City of David*, I, 25; Na’aman, “The Contribution of the Amarna Letters,” 19.
56. Amihai Mazar, “Jerusalem in the 10th Century B.C.E.”
57. Cahill, “Jerusalem at the Time of the Monarchy,” 26.
58. Na’aman, “The Contribution of the Amarna Letters,” 19; Amihai Mazar, “Jerusalem in the 10th Century B.C.E.,” 265.
59. Ernst Knauf, “Jerusalem in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages” (2000): 75–90.
60. Israel Finkelstein, Ido Koch, and Oded Lipschits, “The Mound on the Mount” (2011): Article 12.
61. *Ibid.*, 3.
62. *Ibid.*, 9.
63. *Ibid.*, 10.
64. On these Middle Bronze Age Gihon remains see especially Reich and Shukron, “A New Segment,” 141–53.
65. Finkelstein et al., “The Mound on the Mount,” 10–11.
66. The date and function of the Stepped Stone Structure will be taken up at length in the following chapter’s discussion of the “stronghold” of Jerusalem.
67. Finkelstein et al., “The Mound on the Mount,” 12.
68. *Ibid.*, 12.
69. Kathleen Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem* (1974): 38–39.
70. A more detailed discussion of the “Large Stone Structure” uncovered in recent excavations by E. Mazar will be taken up in the following chapter.
71. On this point, see also Ryan Byrne, “Statecraft in Early Israel” (2003): 220.

72. Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life* and *The Production of Space* (1991).
73. So Lefebvre's "threefold dialectic" (*dialectique de triplicité*) of space as *l'espace perçu* (the space of social practice and interaction [i.e. the kitchen, the dining room]), *l'espace conçu* (planned, purposeful spaces [i.e. grid layout of a city neighborhood]), and *l'espace vécu* (the spaces of representation [i.e. a temple, palace]). Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38–41.
74. That travelers and dignitaries of the ancient Near East visited foreign sites to assess the character of distant cities is borne out by a number of interesting anecdotes, including the request of the King of Ugarit to see the famed Bronze Age palace of Mari, "To Zimri-Lim say thus: Thus says your brother Hammurabi. The king of Ugarit has written me as follows: 'Show me the palace of Zimri-Lim! I wish to see it!'" In André Parrot, "Les Fouilles de Mari, troisième campagne" (1937): 74. For a biblical parallel, Jonah's journey to and description of Nineveh (Jonah 3–4) is worth mention.
75. For Tiglath Pileser I's own description of the site, see Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)* (RIMA II; 1991): 28. For a description of the archaeological remains of this Anu-Adad temple, see Walter Andrae, *Der Anu-Adad-Tempel in Assur* (1909): 26–38.
76. For a discussion of this palace, see Conrad Preusser, *Die Paläste in Assur* (1955).
77. Donald Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (1992): 286–87.
78. Kenneth Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt, 1100–650 B.C.* (1986): 265–68.; Pierre Montet, *Tanis: Douze Années De Fouilles Dans Une Capitale Oubliée Du Delta Égyptien* (1942).
79. As related above, Jerusalem's size was on par with, and even slightly larger than, many notable Iron I/IIA sites in the highlands of the southern Levant, including Khirbet Qeiyafa, Beth-Shemesh, Tel Rehov, and Tel el-Far'ah (North) mentioned above. In addition, Shechem (Tell Balatah) was 5 hectares in size and Tell en Nasbeh (biblical Mizpah) was 3.75 hectares. From the Transjordan, the late Iron I site of Khirbet al-Mudayna al-'Aliya, located on an impressive promontory, was 2.2 hectares in size. Bruce Routledge, "Seeing through Walls: Interpreting Iron Age I Architecture at Khirbat al-Mudayna al-'Aliya" (2000): 38.
80. Israel Finkelstein, *Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (1988): 352–356; Ze'ev Herzog and L. Singer-Avitz, "Redefining the Centre. The Emergence of State in Judah" (2004): 209–44.
81. Ellen Davis, *Scripture, Culture, and Agriculture* (2009): 1.
82. Shimon Gibson et al., "The Sataf Project of Landscape Archaeology in the Judean Hills" (1991): 29–54.
83. Joseph Callaway, "Excavating 'Ai (Et-Tell)" (1976): 29–30; Joseph Callaway and R.S. Cooley, "A Salvage Excavation at Raddana, in Bireh" (1971): 14.
84. Gershon Edelstein and Mordechai Kislev, "Mevasseret Yerushalayim: The Ancient Settlement and Its Agricultural Terraces" (1981): 53–56; Shimon Gibson and Gershon Edelstein, "Investigating Jerusalem's Rural Landscape" (1985): 139–55.
85. Lawrence Stager, "The Archaeology of the East Slope of Jerusalem and the Terraces of the Kidron" (1982): 116; idem., "Jerusalem and the Garden of Eden" (1999): 183–94; Joseph Callaway, "Village Subsistence: Iron Age Ai and Raddana" (1984): 56–58.
86. David Hopkins, *The Highlands of Canaan* (1985): 123–129.
87. Hopkins, 181–183.
88. *Ibid.*, 173–185.

89. Alexander Joffe, "The Rise of Secondary States in the Iron Age Levant" (2002): 438.
90. Lawrence Sinclair, "An Archaeological Study of Gibeah (Tell el-Fûl)" (1964): 57; Elihu Grant, *Ain Shems Excavations (Palestine) 1928–1929–1930–1931*, Part 2. (1932): 48.
91. Hopkins, 218–22.
92. Shiloh, *City of David*, I, 22; Cahill, "Jerusalem in the Time of the Monarchy," 24–25.
93. Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, "The History of the Gihon Spring in Jerusalem" (2004): 211–23.
94. Hopkins, 233; Oded Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel* (1987), 31–44.
95. De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg, VIIA, 154–56.
96. For a description of these practices, see Philip King and Lawrence Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel* (2001): 64–68; Oded Borowski, *Daily Life in Ancient Israel* (2003): 74–75; Nathan MacDonald, *Not Bread Alone* (2008): 60–61; idem., *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?* (2008): 17–40.
97. See especially Carol Meyers, "Guilds and Gatherings" (1999): 161–70; idem., "Hierarchy or Heterarchy? Archaeology and the Theorizing of Israelite Society" (2006): 245–54.
98. Stager notes the small arched doorways of 'Ai, at a height of 0.8 meters, functioned as "doorways for smaller animals such as sheep and goats. Probably the livestock was brought into the house at night." Lawrence Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel," (1982): 12.
99. Edward Neufeld, "Hygiene Conditions in Ancient Israel (Iron Age)" (1971): 42–66.
100. Borowski, *Daily Life*, 79–80; Karl Reinhard and Peter Warnock, "Archaeoparasitology and the Analysis of the Latrine Pit Soils from the City of David" (1996): 20–23.
101. Stager, "Archaeology of the Family," 18–23; Schloen, 138.
102. Schloen, 181.
103. Interestingly, even on this eastern slope of the City of David where, presumably, poorer residents would have resided, "comparison of the finds from the few better-preserved remains (fragmentary floors and installations), together with destruction debris, indicates that the structures did not differ in function from better-preserved residential dwellings found higher up [the slope]." Ariel and De Groot, 158.
104. King and Stager, 28–36; and Schloen, 136–141.
105. King and Stager, 28–35; Schloen, 136–140.
106. King and Stager, 34.
107. Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family," 17. (my italics)
108. MacDonald, *Not Bread Alone*, 60–61.
109. Eilat Mazar, *Palace of King David*, 38.
110. King and Stager, 34.
111. Douglas Clark, "Bricks, Sweat, and Tears" (2003): 37–38.
112. King and Stager, 29.
113. Keel, I, 226–31.
114. Rolf Rendtorff, "Die Entwicklung des altisraelistischen Festkalenders" (1991): 185–204; Shimon Gesundheit, *Three Times a Year* (2012).
115. Rendtorff, 189–91; Gesundheit, 167–222.
116. Frick, *The City in Ancient Israel*, 91. Schloen, 101.
117. Gibson and Edelstein, 139–55; De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg, VIIA, 159–60.

118. This point was already made by R. de Vaux's work on Israelite society in which he opposed dividing Israelite society into social classes. Instead, de Vaux opted to provide "divisions" of the population demarcated along the lines of the "men of rank and influence" and the "people of the land." Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (1961): 68–74. On economic stratification, see also Frick, *The City in Ancient Israel*, 100–114.
119. Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, "Life in Judah from the Perspective of the Dead" (2002): 128–29; John Holladay, Jr. "The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah" (1995): 376–78.
120. Schloen, 181. Byrne, "Statecraft in Early Israel," 200.
121. Max Weber, *Ancient Judaism* (1952): 15–27.
122. Nadav Na'aman, "Cow Town or Royal Capital? Evidence for Iron Age Jerusalem" (1997): 43–47, 67.

5 David's Jerusalem

The Early 10th Century BCE Part II: Stronghold and Ideological Apparatus

The most successful ideological effects are those which have no need for words.¹

Part II of this investigation of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem continues with those historical interests and interpretive concerns outlined in the previous chapter. Following upon the portrayal there of the everyday, agrarian spaces of David's Jerusalem, my intent in this chapter is to explore this location's stronghold character and to reflect on the site's ideological potential during the first decades of the 1st millennium BCE. In attending to these defensive and ideological features of the ancient settlement, the guiding question of this chapter's investigation is that posed by A. Alt nearly a century ago: why did Jerusalem, and not other highland sites positioned in more strategic locations or with a longer heritage of political authority in the southern Levant, become the ruling center of an Iron Age dynasty?²

5.1 EARLY 10TH-CENTURY BCE JERUSALEM AS A STRONGHOLD

Written in the wake of events that had unfolded in the Middle East during World War I, A. Alt's seminal essay on Jerusalem's ancient history centered on those factors that led to the location's rather unexpected rise to prominence in the Iron Age. For in keeping with those biblical traditions about Israel's early history in Canaan, the general geography of the southern Levant, and the broader political history of the region, all signs, Alt argued, pointed toward more northern, hill-country sites such as Shechem reclaiming and expanding upon the local authority they once enjoyed in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age. That Jerusalem instead became the more influential city after the 10th century BCE could thus only be attributed, Alt maintained, to the genius and cunning of that individual who, according to the biblical narrative, took control of the site and built it into a substantial base of power: David.³

It is against the background and conclusions of Alt's investigation into Jerusalem's rise that the following discussion proceeds in an attempt to reconsider the agents and processes that contributed to Jerusalem's status and possible influence in the early 10th century BCE. An important thrust of this reassessment will be a certain resistance against the trajectory of the biblical description of this era and its fixation on that moment in time when Jerusalem was said to have come under David's control. Instead, the intent here is to turn first to the way in which Jerusalem's status as a highland stronghold reached back into the Bronze Age,⁴ with my investigation attempting to lift up and underscore the continuities that exist between the history of this Bronze Age Jerusalem and the Iron I/IIA site so often clouded over within those texts that record a radical disjunction in culture and identity between the city that preceded David (of the so-called Jebusites) and that settlement which arose after David's acquisition of the location.

In turning to the notion of a stronghold, my understanding of the term as I mean it here is that of a site whose natural geomorphological features are exploited for purposes of security and administration. Such strongholds characteristically share a number of traits: the site's terrain, usually witnessed in its elevation, makes a direct military assault difficult; a stronghold contains a fortress, citadel, or other types of defensive architecture that further protect its inhabitants; and the site often has a natural water source located within it or nearby that allows the location's population to endure during times of siege.⁵ Because of their defensive importance, strongholds abound from many different geographical regions and times, including the great acropolis at the Acrocorinth, for example, or those smaller medieval burgs of Europe such as at Innsbruck and Hildesheim.⁶



Figure 5.1 The Acrocorinth (Background) with Temple of Apollo in Foreground

Viewed from this perspective, the site of Jerusalem corresponds well with those elements of a stronghold highlighted here.⁷ Guarded by the Kidron Valley to the east and a near impassable chain of valleys to the west (including the Tyropoeon), the elevated spur on which the City of David rested would have given the settlement a certain strategic military value if assaulted directly from these directions. In addition to its topographic position, the presence of the Gihon spring and its continual source of water would have accorded the site a notable degree of tactical importance, particularly when taking into account its location within a semiarid region that bordered on desert conditions to its east and southeast. Existing during a period of limited settlement activity in the Judean Hills and within a region of few large towns or cities,⁸ the stronghold of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem thus acquires a twofold connotation: the first is linked to its political function as a primary center of governance in the region; and second is a purpose wed to its capacity to provide security to those who found refuge within it during times of conflict.

To understand better the potential of a Jerusalemite stronghold to rule and govern within the highland region, it is necessary to turn first to the Late Bronze Age and the description of Jerusalem within the Amarna Letters. Written to and from the courts of Egypt during the span of about thirty years, the significance of these letters for the present investigation resides in their characterization of the political circumstances surrounding the “Great Powers Club”⁹ that dominated the ancient Near East in the 14th century BCE, and thus the information they provide about the sociopolitical status of various city-states in the southern Levant that were controlled by Egypt during this time. The references to Jerusalem within these letters are vital, then, because these texts offer a rare, contemporaneous window into Jerusalem’s early history as a Canaanite city-state before its rise as an Iron Age royal center.

Of the hundreds of Late Bronze Age letters recovered from El-Amarna, my interest here is those six documents (EA 285—EA 290)¹⁰ that have their origin in the court of Jerusalem (Akk. ^{URU}*ú-ru-sa-lim*^{KI}). Particularly illuminating within these Jerusalem letters are the infrequent but invaluable descriptions of the settlement offered by the city’s “mayor” (Akk. *hazannu*)¹¹ or ruler, Abdi-Heba, in his appeals for Egyptian aid when confronted by various political and military exigencies. In the first letter of the corpus (EA 285:23–25) Abdi-Heba writes, for example:

“Concerning [the garrison] that belongs to [Adday]a, the commissioner of the king, [I] want their house ([a]-*ra-šu bī-ta-šu-nu*)”

Abdi-Heba’s request for the house of a departed garrison force offers the first small glimpse into the character of this highland city-state, as it discloses that the location was capable of housing a formidable Egyptian military presence dispersed by Pharaoh to defend Egyptian interests in the

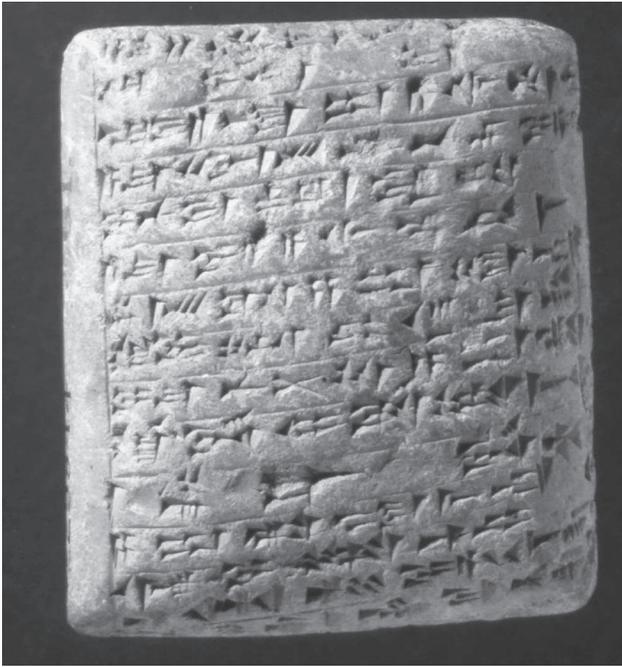


Figure 5.2 Amarna Letter from Labayu of Shechem to Pharaoh Amenhotep IV

region. Not only does this reference indicate that Jerusalem was of enough significance for Pharaoh to send the high-ranking *rābiṣu* and his forces to the location,¹² but also that the city was of a size capable of housing this Egyptian military presence in addition to its local inhabitants. Abdi-Heba's request in a later letter for a replacement garrison numbering fifty soldiers (EA 289:42) offers an indication of the conventional number of troops within such a contingent, and thus alludes to the type of infrastructure and resources required in Jerusalem to provide for these soldiers.

Alongside Abdi-Heba's reference to the home of an Egyptian garrison and the presence of Egyptian forces in Jerusalem, another letter also hints at the resources of Abdi-Heba's city in a description of a caravan sent out from Jerusalem to Pharaoh (EA 287:53–57):

“I sent [as gifts]¹³ to the king my lord [xx] prisoners, five thousand [. . .], [and] 8 porters for the caravans of the king (*harrāt šarri*), but they have been taken in the fields of Ayyaluna.”

This fragmented account of the contents of a caravan from Jerusalem and its theft is of historical significance because of what it presumes about its site of origin. That is, noteworthy about this description of the stolen caravan is

that Jerusalem had the capacity to send out what was contained within it: a number of prisoners, servants fit for Pharaoh's service, and a large quantity of other unnamed items that were of some prestige. And, as indicated by the very existence of the letter itself, this document illustrates that Jerusalem also housed the services of a scribe.¹⁴ Seen in this light, the Jerusalem of Abdi-Heba functioned with some manner of a court, where diplomatic letters were written and from which decisions were made regarding the fostering and maintenance of Jerusalem's political relationship with Egypt.¹⁵

Moving out from the spaces of the city to the influence this Late Bronze Age location wielded on its surroundings, two other references to Jerusalem are worth mention. First, in EA 287:63, Abdi-Heba appeals to Pharaoh for protection of the "lands of Jerusalem" (*mātāt*^{URU} *ú-ru-sa-lim*^{KI}), with the importance of this reference being located in its allusion to a centralized area of political control that extended beyond the limits of Jerusalem itself. This terse reference to Jerusalem's sphere of authority is further buttressed in the last letter of the Jerusalem correspondence with the accusation leveled by Abdi-Heba against his bitter enemies, the local kings Milkilu of Gezer and Shuwardata of Gath. In EA 290:5–10, 15–18 Abdi-Heba laments:

Behold the act which Milkilu and Shuwardata have committed: against the land of the king, my lord, they assembled troops from Gezer, troops from Gimtu, and troops from Qiltu . . . And now moreover a city of the land of Jerusalem (*KUR.URU* *ú-ru-sa-lim*^{KI}), Bit-^dNIN.URTA,¹⁶ a city of the king, has gone over to the side of the men of Qiltu.

The mention of the loss of a city belonging to the land of Jerusalem offers a valuable intimation of the sociopolitical power the city-state was able to project. For in a manner akin to other city-states in the region, such as Gezer or Gath, Abdi-Heba's Jerusalem appears to have been a local city-state whose authority extended out beyond the city and over a hinterland, some satellite villages, and a few towns within its vicinity—a realm that, according to a letter written by the ruler of Gath, Abdi-Heba actively sought to enlarge through military means from his seat of power in Jerusalem (EA 280:30–35).

These references to Abdi-Heba's Late Bronze Age center correspond well to descriptions of other Canaanite city-states in the region. Rib-Addi of Byblos (ancient Gubla), for example, also offered numerous petitions to Pharaoh for garrison forces to defend his city when it came under attack by unruly segments of the population. As with Abdi-Heba, the force requested by Rib-Addi is numbered at thirty to fifty soldiers (EA 78, 139), with archers, as at Jerusalem, also being particularly prized for the defense of the port city (EA 105, 107, 362). Interestingly, a letter from Rib-Addi notes the difficulties in feeding this garrison force (EA 125:14–24), and thereby provides an intimation of the obligations vassal city-states were required to meet in their employment of Egyptian troops. A letter from Pharaoh to

another vassal (the ruler of Akshapa) makes this obligation clear: “And prepare in anticipation for the king’s archers a large amount of food, of wine, and a great deal of everything else” (EA 367:15–17). That a garrison was once housed in Jerusalem, and that an additional force of similar size was once more requested, makes it apparent that the Jerusalem of Abdi-Heba was able to meet such provisions.

The request of Abdi-Heba for the “house” of the garrison leader is also suggestive of Jerusalem’s character at this time. As at Sumur (EA 60:34–38) and an unnamed city (EA 371) where reference is made to the Egyptian king’s “house,” such references to important structures indicate that Egyptian-controlled royal buildings were constructed in the vassal city-states for Egyptian officials and soldiers to occupy during their stay. In the absence of Egyptian soldiers at Jerusalem, Abdi-Heba consequently makes the formal request to inhabit the coveted edifice standing somewhere in the settlement (EA 285:23–25). The caravan sent out from Jerusalem to Pharaoh also attests to the luxuries certain Canaanite city-states were able to obtain, transport, and house within these vassal outposts. In a letter from Pharaoh to Jerusalem’s close neighbor, Milkilu of Gezer, Pharaoh sends “silver, gold, garments, carnelian, precious stones, and an ebony throne” in an effort to acquire “very beautiful” Canaanite women as cupbearers for the Egyptian court (EA 369).

Though Late Bronze Age Jerusalem does not appear as influential as the city-states of Gezer or Megiddo to the north,¹⁷ the Amarna correspondence illustrates decisively that Jerusalem was nevertheless a notable highland

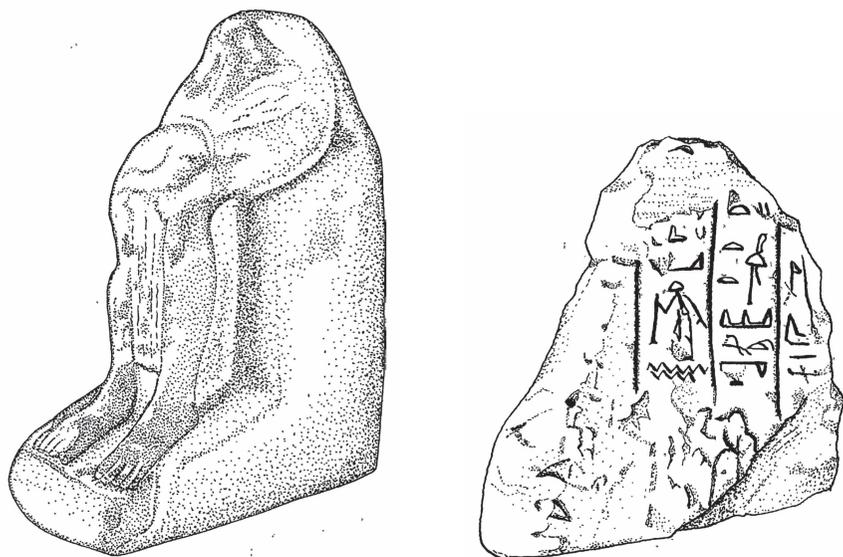


Figure 5.3 Egyptian Artifacts Recovered from Late Bronze Age Jerusalem

center in the Judean Hills during this era, with its stature and authority paralleling that of many other Canaanite city-states mentioned in the Amarna corpus.¹⁸ In a time of fluid power relationships and wavering allegiances (as evidenced in the defection of the city Bit-^dNIN.URTA to the people of Qiltu), any attempt at reconstructing the boundaries of a city-state's sphere of control can only be speculative. But in a heuristic vein, it can be suggested that the area over which Abdi-Heba's Jerusalem exercised some control reached west to the foothills of the Shephelah and to the borders of the city-states of Gezer and Gath, extended east to the Jordan valley and enclosed Jericho, continued south to the area of Beth-zur, and finally extended north toward the Bethel hill country.¹⁹

The importance of Jerusalem's depiction within the Amarna Letters for my purposes here is that these texts offer a unique, contemporaneous, and thus all-the-more-valuable perspective of the influence and power Jerusalem could potentially exert in the highlands in an era just prior to the dawn of the Iron Age.²⁰ In the absence of archaeological evidence that pertains to this period in Jerusalem's history, an important point to take away from this description of the location is that the Jerusalem of Abdi-Heba was a relevant, inhabited settlement during this period in time.²¹ Indeed, though material traces connected to this Jerusalem are almost entirely absent, the letters sent out by Abdi-Heba's scribe portray this Late Bronze Age highland



Figure 5.4 Suggested Sphere of Abdi-Heba's Authority

center as an influential Amarna Age city-state worthy of a local ruler and a modest sphere of authority in Canaan: like other city-states in the region, Abdi-Heba “had a capital city; a palace; a court, attendants and servants; a temple in which he held a central role; and an ideology that established his position as head of state.”²² Given the dearth of archaeological remains from this period in Jerusalem’s history, textual references to the Jerusalem of Abdi-Heba in the Amarna Letters thus provide crucial insights into how an enterprising Canaanite ruler could use the place of Jerusalem to hold court, wage war, and enter into diplomacy with other leaders and migratory communities in the region.

Though Jerusalem’s status may have eroded with the collapse of the Bronze Age during the 13th century BCE, there is no indication that Jerusalem was destroyed or abandoned in the time that transpired between Abdi-Heba’s rule and the early 10th century BCE. No reason exists, then, to exclude the possibility that the stronghold of Jerusalem continued to be utilized in the centuries that followed Abdi-Heba’s reign. As with Abdi-Heba’s Jerusalem, few domestic structures can be attributed to the early Iron I settlement, and no written texts refer to the location during this period. Nevertheless, given Jerusalem’s impressive Middle Bronze Age remains and its status as an important administrative center for the Egyptians in the Late Bronze Age, it is unlikely that Jerusalem’s strategic importance and resources would have gone unrecognized by those shrewd highland leaders that were to arise at the beginning of the age that was to follow.²³

It is against the background of Abdi-Heba’s highland center that the stronghold of David’s Jerusalem first comes into view. The historical parallels between the early 10th-century BCE settlement and that of Abdi-Heba’s Jerusalem reside foremost in the discrepancy that exists between the few material remains that can be securely connected to this location and the number of texts that refer to it. The most consequential archaeological discoveries linked to early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem remain, in fact, the most debated. Perhaps the most important of these finds is the large series of terraces that supported a monumental stepped stone structure along the City of David’s eastern slope. Cahill describes this architectural unit as follows:²⁴

The substructure is composed of a series of interlocking terraces formed by north-south spine walls and closely spaced east-west rib walls that, together, created rows of interlocking, rectangular compartments. Each compartment contained two layers of fill: the upper layer consisted of compacted soil that began flush with the tops of the walls retaining them; the lower layer consisted of loosely packed boulders. The substructural terraces were capped by a rubble core that keyed them to a superstructural mantle. The mantle was constructed of roughly dressed, limestone boulders laid in stepped courses rising from east to west at an approximately 45-degree angle toward the crest of the hill.

Two significant debates influence the interpretation of the substructural terraces and the stone superstructure (or mantle) built above them. The first concerns the dating of the terraces and the stone superstructure and their relationship to one another; the second pertains to the present disagreement between those who hold to the Conventional Chronology (CC) for dating the Iron I and Iron II periods in the southern Levant and those who adhere to Finkelstein's chronological revisions, or Low Chronology (LC).²⁵

In turning first to the latter debate, A. Mazar's proposal for a Modified Conventional Chronology (MCC), borne out of his excavations in Tel Rehov but also taken from other considerations, offers important insights into this discussion.²⁶ Key for Mazar's proposal is the diversity of chronological data produced through recent radiocarbon dating: while certain sites, such as Lachish V, Tel Masos II, and Arad XII, could support a later Iron I/IIA transitional period in the late 10th century BCE, other sites, such as Megiddo VIA, Tel Qasile X, and additional settlements located in the Western Jezreel-Acco Plain, for example, support the more traditional view of the Iron I/IIA transition being located near the turn of the 1st millennium BCE.²⁷ What this data suggests, then, is both a more complex and protracted transitional period between the Iron I and Iron IIA periods than that initially identified in the LC. Consequently, not only does this transition appear to have occurred throughout the entire first half of the 10th century BCE, but the time period for this progression is one closely dependent on the geographical region in which a location resided.²⁸ In terms of that early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem at the center of this study, what this MCC perspective means is that material culture emanating of the late Iron I or early Iron IIA period could both fall within the assumed reign of David, and thus it is necessary to attend to both material assemblages when considering what evidence bears on a reconstruction of Jerusalem's early 10th-century BCE past.



Figure 5.5 Stepped Stone Structure, City of David

Setting aside this debate over periodization, an understanding of the form and function of the stepped-stone structure has been driven by two dominant interpretations. According to the perspective of Cahill and A. Mazar, the material remains from this structure suggest that its primary features—a stepped-stone mantle and a terraced substructure beneath it—were built together as a single architectural unit in the early Iron I period (ca. 12th–11th century BCE).²⁹ An opposing viewpoint put forward by Steiner and Finkelstein, however, follow the earlier interpretations of Shiloh and Kenyon by interpreting the remains of this structure as consisting of two distinct architectural units built at different times—the first comprised of the terraced subsystem constructed during the Iron I period, with a monumental stone superstructure being built atop the terraces during the Iron IIA era.³⁰

The disagreement between these two perspectives on the architecture of the Stepped Stone Structure is thus predicated on the dating of the relationship between its terraces and the large stone mantle constructed above it. Cahill and Mazar argue for both architectural units being built together already in the Iron I period, while Steiner and Finkelstein understand the structures to have been built separately—the terraces in the Iron I period and the stepped-stone superstructure either in the 10th (Steiner) or 9th century BCE (Finkelstein). For the early 10th century BCE at the focus of this investigation, three possibilities thus emerge for an understanding of this important edifice: 1.) the terraces and stepped stone structure were built as one unit sometime in the Iron I period before the 10th century BCE (Cahill and Mazar), 2.) the monumental superstructure was built separately atop the earlier Iron I terraces in the 10th century BCE (Steiner), or 3.) this stone mantle was constructed still later in the 9th century BCE (Finkelstein). Depending on what perspective one follows, the Stepped Stone Structure could thus be understood as Canaanite (Jebusite), as that of the reigns of David and Solomon, or connected to the later reigns of Asa or Jehoshaphat.

In stepping back and viewing these proposals together, the differences between these perspectives have important bearings on a reconstruction of Jerusalem's early 10th-century BCE history. Yet what is often lost amid the disagreements present between these positions is the consensus the differing viewpoints do provide: namely, that at minimum, a sophisticated terraced system was built into the slope of the Kidron Valley *already in the Iron I period*.³¹ These large terraces were constructed in such a way as to alter the natural contours of the eastern slope of the City of David, and in doing so permitted the settlement's residents to construct larger, more stable buildings at this key defensive point of the site.³² At a minimum, then, a significant public works project is attested as being present in Jerusalem before the transition into the Iron IIA era, regardless of the current disagreements over Iron Age periodization. And, if one follows the position of Cahill and A. Mazar, this architectural unit would have taken on a massive, monumental appearance already during this early period in time. Consequently, what matters most for my discussion here is that the Jerusalem which preceded

the time of David evinces evidence of an impressive architectural system that, in an era of small villages and unfortified towns, would have made it one of the largest and most imposing terraced constructions of its time in the highlands, and one that likely supported significant building activity above it.³³

To these impressive terraces should be added the less definitive, but nevertheless captivating, Large Stone Structure currently being excavated by E. Mazar in the City of David. Though E. Mazar's early identification of this building with the "Palace of King David" was thoroughly premature and roundly criticized,³⁴ the large building currently under excavation atop the Stepped Stone Structure nevertheless merits consideration in an investigation of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem due to the recent remains recovered from the site. Perhaps the most significant feature of these finds is the preliminary evidence that links the Large Stone Structure to the Stepped Stone Structure just described.

In the renewed investigation of a massive, five-meter thick wall (Wall 20) atop the Stepped Stone Structure, E. Mazar has argued that her Wall 20 and Shiloh's Wall 302 of the Stepped Stone Structure were, in fact, part of the same original construction.³⁵ If correct, this architectural relationship would indicate that the Large Stone Structure and Stepped Stone Structure were built as part of one monumental edifice, with the Stepped Stone Structure providing the support system needed to stabilize the construction of an impressive building or complex of buildings atop it.³⁶ In terms of dating this construction, Room E of the Large Stone Structure, which abuts Wall 20, has provided a number of finds, including collared rim jars, crucibles, and other pottery linked to the Iron I period.³⁷

The Iron I dating of the Large Stone Structure and its connection to the Stepped Stone Structure have been endorsed in separate studies by A. Mazar, Faust, and De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg,³⁸ though it must be admitted that an understanding of the date and function of the Large Stone Building remains provisional, with E. Mazar's excavations still being in their early stages, relatively speaking, of publication.³⁹ Nevertheless, significant for the present investigation is that Iron I pottery assemblages can now be connected to both monumental structures recovered in the City of David. It is historically meaningful, in other words, that in the era just prior to or concurrent with the early 10th century BCE, the inhabitants of Jerusalem built an impressive and technically complex terraced construction into the Kidron Valley, and erected on top of this support system a building or buildings of some stature that continued in use through the Iron IIA period.⁴⁰ The Iron I date of the substructural terraces of the Stepped Stone Structure recovered from numerous excavations in Jerusalem and the Iron I remains of the Large Stone Structure unearthed by E. Mazar would thus make this era a decisive moment in Jerusalem's historical development.

In addition to these monumental structures, vestiges of a few buildings from the Iron I/IIA period have also persisted on the City of David's eastern

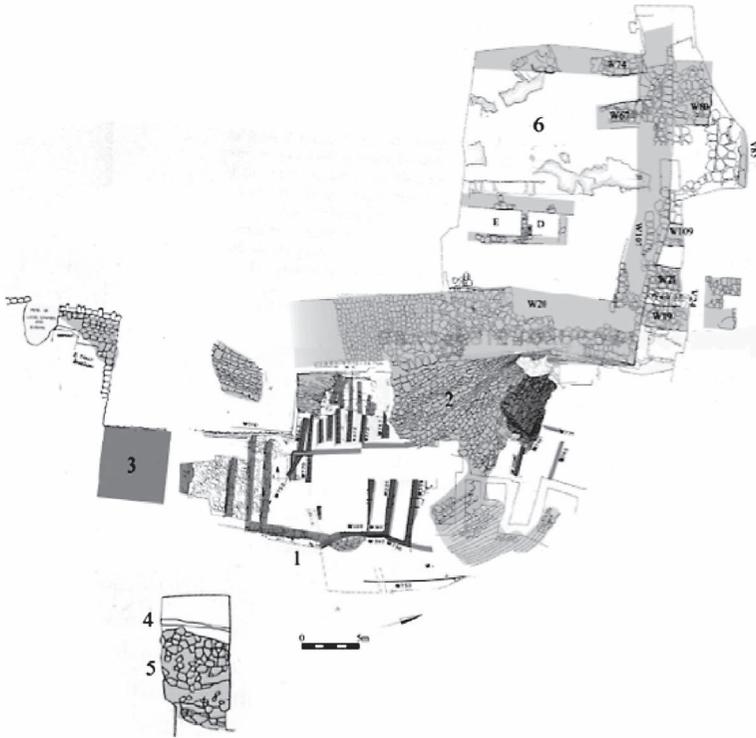


Figure 5.6 Components of Excavated Areas in City of David. 1) Terraces, Acting as Structural Foundation for “Stepped Stone Structure”; 2) The “Mantle Wall” of Stepped Stone Structure; 3) A Stone Structure or Fill from Kenyon’s Square AXXIII; 4) Terrace 4–5 in Kenyon’s Trench I; 5) The “Large Wall” in the Upper Part of Kenyon’s Trench I; 6) The Large Stone Structure Excavated by E. Mazar.

slope. The partial remains of two edifices with a ceramic assemblage connected to this era, for example, were located in Shiloh’s Stratums 15–14 in Area E North (Buildings 1655 and 2091),⁴¹ and evidence of 11th–10th century BCE remains were also found further down slope.⁴² Presumably, similar buildings and occupied areas would have extended over the western sector of the City of David and abutted the Ophel area to the north, though what structures were once located in these areas have not withstood the vicissitudes of Jerusalem’s long and violent history. Conclusive evidence for the reuse of those Middle Bronze Age fortifications that once bounded the settlement and protected the Gihon Spring has not been produced for the Iron I/IIA era, though, if not in use at this time, the ruins of these older fortifications would have nonetheless been present and visible in the early 10th century BCE.⁴³ It is, then, in viewing these modest homes populating the spur of the City of David, the remnants of Jerusalem’s older fortifications

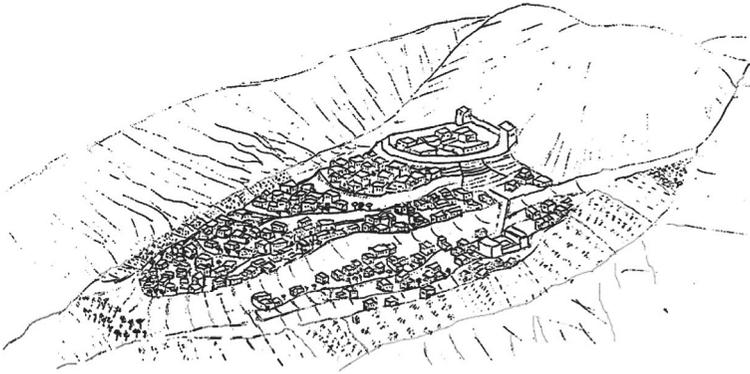


Figure 5.7 Reconstruction of Early 10th-Century BCE Jerusalem

scattered around the settlement, the rooms of the impressive Large Stone Structure, and the imposing terraces along the Kidron that an image of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem appears.

No monument or extrabiblical text attests to a ruler or group winning control of Jerusalem at the beginning of the 1st millennium BCE, and it is only with Sennacherib's royal annals from the late 8th/early 7th century BCE that Jerusalem's name is voiced, for the first time in the Iron Age, by a foreign power.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Jerusalem's impressive expansion over the course of the 8th century BCE gives rise to the question as to the origins of that dynasty that transformed the site during this time, and, consequently, when Jerusalem was first chosen as an administrative center for a local Iron Age kingdom. In the absence of clear archaeological evidence that can illuminate these questions, the historian is driven back to the cultural memories of Jerusalem's past contained in the Hebrew Bible. The theoretical relationship between place and memory discussed in the previous chapters will thus be mobilized here in an effort to reflect on those lines of semblance and disconnect that exist between Jerusalem's early 10th century archaeological remains and those stories recounted about it within the biblical narrative.

Within this interpretive framework, the first points of affinity that emerge are those biblical allusions to the location's stronghold character. This is not to suggest that the difficult references to Jerusalem in 2 Sam 5:6–9 (// 1 Chr 11:4–8) are an authentic historical representation of the site composed by contemporary scribes, but only that the broad outlines of those memories pertaining to a Jerusalem stronghold acquired by a calculating, ambitious highland warrior finds coherence with certain features of the site's appearance and strategic value described above. In an era of few major settlements in the highlands and even fewer fortified centers,⁴⁵ and when the great powers in Mesopotamia and Egypt had suddenly descended into a political

nadir, the point to be made here is that the stronghold described above would have been a *desideratum* for any local leader who aspired to enlarge his or her sphere of authority in the highland region. Biblical memories of Jerusalem's acquisition at precisely this moment in time thus finds particular semblance with those historical and archaeological considerations concerning Jerusalem's stronghold status and its long history of local influence before the turn of the 1st millennium BCE.

What this very general point of contact between the stronghold of Jerusalem and biblical memory provides, then, is historical warrant for examining more closely the literary memories of David's Jerusalem within the archaeological context of the early 10th-century BCE settlement. To begin, it is necessary to return once more to that nebulous description of David's takeover of the site recounted in Samuel-Kings. 2 Sam 5:6–9 reads:

Then the king and his men went to Jerusalem, to the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land. They said to David, "You shall not enter here!" (For the blind and the lame had incited them, saying, "David shall not come in here!"). Then David seized the stronghold of Zion (that is, the city of David) and he said on that day, "Whoever smites a Jebusite, let him strike at the *šinnôr*, for David hates the lame and the blind"—therefore it is said, "the blind and the lame shall not enter the temple." David resided in the stronghold and he named it the City of David. And David built a city around it from the Millo inwards.

A number of historical questions arise from this difficult account of Jerusalem's conquest. The first is the identity of the site's inhabitants before David's takeover. Though the biblical text names the "Jebusites" as occupants of Jerusalem at the time of its acquisition by David, no extrabiblical reference to this group has been found in the ancient Near East. Citing the name of the owner of the threshing floor (Araunah) purchased by David for an altar in Jerusalem (2 Sam 24:18–23), as well as the names of other Jerusalemites such as Abdi-Heba and Bath-Sheba, it has become common for scholars to associate the Jebusites with various Anatolian peoples who migrated south into the region during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages.⁴⁶ Other biblical references, however, note different occupants of Jerusalem before David's takeover. In both Joshua (15:63) and Judges (1:21), for example, Jerusalem is not conquered with the rest of Canaan in the Israelite's invasion of the region, with the population of the city appearing to be comprised of an amalgamation of both Israelite and non-Israelite groups who lived outside the domain of Israelite tribal rule. Though such references to the early inhabitants of Jerusalem were likely composed later in time, they nevertheless attest to some ambiguity among the writers of these accounts concerning those who resided within Jerusalem before David's takeover.

Related to the question of Jerusalem's inhabitants during this period is the confusion surrounding the precise details of Jerusalem's takeover. While

2 Sam 5:7 reports that David captured (לכד) the Jebusite stronghold, the details of this defeat and its subjugation are almost entirely absent from the biblical account. David's attempt to seize a stronghold of a non-Israelite city, and the initial rhetoric by the city's inhabitants forbidding him to do so, suggests, *prima facie*, that some form of force was needed to overtake the citadel (מצודה) of Zion.⁴⁷ Yet, other than the strange references to the taunts of the blind and the lame and the obscure command to strike at the צנור, more precise descriptions surrounding the manner in which the stronghold of Zion came into David's possession are omitted: clear allusions to a battle, architectural features of the stronghold, or military stratagem are entirely lacking from the account (in contrast to 2 Sam 12:27–29, for example, in which David “fought against” [וילחם] the city of Rabbah “and captured it” [וילכדה]). The absence of these features within 2 Sam 5 have led some scholars to suggest a peaceful, or at least less violent, takeover of Jerusalem by David,⁴⁸ an argument buttressed by references to Israelite inhabitants in the city prior to David's occupation of Jerusalem and by the observation that, though the supposed site of Saul's Gibeah—Tell el-Fül—lay within a few miles of Jerusalem, Jerusalem is never cited as an aggressor or irritant to Israelite interests in the Saulide narratives. In terms of the biblical text itself, the precise circumstances regarding Jerusalem's acquisition by David thus remain unclear, and can be plausibly linked to a range of possibilities—from tactical military feat to a subtle diplomatic maneuver among a populace who were located only six kilometers north of David's supposed birthplace, Bethlehem.

The biblical account of Jerusalem's takeover by David in 2 Sam 5:6–9 resists further historical speculation about the events that may or may not have transpired at this moment in the location's early Iron Age past. What is significant about this depiction of pre-Davidic Jerusalem for this investigation, however, are those points of affinity that obtain between it and the archaeological record of the late Iron I/early Iron IIA site reviewed above. That is, a striking feature of Jerusalem's description within the story of Jerusalem's Davidic takeover in Samuel is its terseness and restraint. The Jerusalem of 2 Sam 5 is not, for example, portrayed as a thriving and heavily fortified urban center finally subdued through the prowess of a great warrior-king, but is instead characterized as a strategic, but limited, highland settlement: 2 Sam 5:7 relates that pre-Davidic Jerusalem housed a citadel (מצודה) and some inhabitants, and that David's immediate building activity after his takeover of the site was restricted to the area only within this defensive “keep.”⁴⁹ No mention is made in Samuel of David's attempt to raze the settlement or expand it, to make extensive renovations to it or, along the lines of Mesha's activities at Dibon, for example, to erect gates, towers, or reservoirs in a new capital city (KAI 181:21b-25). Set in a world in which royal building projects and domestic achievements were eagerly seized upon by a ruler to promote one's authority within writings sponsored by them,⁵⁰ the representation of Jerusalem's takeover by David is thus remarkable for its reticence.

From a historical standpoint, the confluence of these archaeological and textual considerations surrounding early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem suggest that the location's strategic value at this moment in time was not in population, size, or affluence, but in its geographical location, defensive topography, and those structures located in the מצודה. The stronghold encountered by an individual such as David at this time would thus not have been a major urban center, but a modest settlement situated on the elevated spur of the City of David and sustained by the Gihon. The administrative and martial significance of this highland center was in this sense wed to its natural landscape and the remains of what fortifications that were built at the site decades, and perhaps even centuries, before in order to protect those who abided within the stronghold in the unruly and loosely governed era of the early Iron Age.

The history of the stronghold at Jerusalem, already set in motion with Abdi-Heba and other nameless highland leaders in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, was thus likely given a new and more ambitious trajectory in the early 10th century BCE with the decision of a southern hill country brigand to move his center of operations to this highland site. The Jerusalem stronghold would have had its status enhanced by the establishment of a new ruling dynasty connected to the increasing population of highland tribal elements, with the new ruler's family and court being housed at the settlement in a manner akin to Egyptian garrison forces and leaders such as Abdi-Heba before them. The biblical description of David's officials, regardless of its historical authenticity, offers a window into the limited number of individuals likely required for Jerusalem's administration and its maintenance during this period in time (2 Sam 8:16–17): David's court includes a commander of the army, a herald, a scribe,⁵¹ a Judahite and Jerusalemite priest, a commander of the king's guard, and members of David's family who had been tasked with leading cultic activities. David's administrative circle at Jerusalem was from this perspective quite small, and conforms to what might be expected for the administration of the modest Jerusalemite stronghold at the time. According to biblical memory, this stronghold would become the final resting place of the kings of the Davidic dynasty and home to both Saul's daughter (2 Sam 6) and Pharaoh's (1 Kgs 3:1), yet the book of Kings states that it was only with Solomon's building measures that Jerusalem was expanded and enlarged beyond the confines of the original Jebusite center and its defensive enclosures. The coherence between the archaeological evidence and the biblical narrative regarding David's Jerusalem is, on this point, once again suggestive.

In considering the stronghold character of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem, the intent here has been to reflect on what Lefebvre termed the "conceived" spaces of a place, or those spaces of a location fashioned by those in power in order to direct human activity toward certain ends.⁵² In a time of few contemporary fortified sites or large settlements in the southern Levant, the stronghold character of Jerusalem, I have argued, would

have been a significant possession for any highland leader attempting to extend his or her influence within the highlands during the Iron I-Iron IIA transition. Much as Jerusalem's agrarian spaces shaped the daily activities and concerns of those farmers and pastoralists who moved about within its precincts, so also would have the site's topography and built environment contributed, then, to its status as a tactically significant stronghold center from which a highland ruler could marshal forces, make raids, and defend his or her interests in the early 10th century BCE.

An important facet of Jerusalem's stronghold features examined here has been the relationship between the limited archaeological remains of the early 10th-century BCE site and the memories of David's Jerusalem surveyed in chapters two and three. To be sure, frequent points of disconnect emerge between the material culture reviewed here and those textual references explored in those studies: a Temple of Yhwh located near a finely crafted Phoenician palace (2 Sam 12), the princely quarters of Amnon (2 Sam 13), or David's capacity to avoid Absalom's presence for two years in a spacious and expansive Jerusalem (2 Sam 14) all find little coherence with this reconstruction of the modest, four to five ha. stronghold of the late Iron I/early Iron IIA period. An even greater discrepancy is witnessed, moreover, between these material remains and the Chronicler's lavish temple-city imbued with priests and Levites and wealth beyond measure (1 Chr 14–29).

Nevertheless, along with these discontinuities, a significant element of semblance was found between the memories of David's Jerusalem and the material remains of the early 10th-century BCE settlement: namely, those allusions to a more limited stronghold location that preceded David's acquisition of the site (2 Sam 5:6–9). Within this narrative, Jerusalem is not depicted as that opulent center rendered within the Chronicler's portrayal, for example, but is instead described as a strategic highland settlement that enclosed a מצודה, or citadel, and which, after its takeover by David, had few building projects enacted within it other than alterations to the previously constructed Jebusite keep. When reading the literary memories preserved in this account, it is of historical interest that references to this settlement conform more closely to those allusions to Abdi-Heba's Jerusalem in the Amarna Letters than to the material remains of Hezekiah's or Josiah's late Iron Age capital.

In reflecting on the landscape and architecture of this early 10th-century stronghold, Jerusalem's transformation into a ruling center in the highlands should not, then, be connected to the genius of one individual who lifted the location out of obscurity and extensively redeveloped the settlement as Alt once proposed.⁵³ Rather, Jerusalem's emergence as the capital of a local Iron Age kingdom should be seen instead as the result of a complex web of factors that included the natural and built environment of the location and its venerable history as a highland stronghold long before the early 10th century BCE. Indeed, the material and textual traces pertaining to late Iron I/Iron IIA Jerusalem suggest that the reasons behind the location's selection

as a center of rule depended more on its geography and natural features, its central position between tribal centers in the highlands, and its defensibility during times of conflict, than on force of personality, wealth, or demography. The place of Jerusalem itself, from this perspective, gestured toward and chose figures such as David to rule over it as much as these highland leaders chose it.

5.2 EARLY 10TH-CENTURY BCE JERUSALEM AS AN IDEOLOGICAL APPARATUS OF THE *BÊT DAVID*

Soundings into the historical character of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem have thus far been directed toward the perceived and conceived features of the settlement, or those spaces that structured the rhythms of an agrarian community and gave rise to the settlement's use as a center of defense and jurisdiction for a local highland dynasty in the late Iron I/early Iron IIA period. The aim of this section is to move beyond the description of those spaces of Jerusalem that guided the concrete activities of social and administrative practice and to examine instead how the landscape of the settlement potentially contributed toward the legitimacy of those who ruled from it. My study here is accordingly centered on Jerusalem's potency as an ideological resource for its highland overlords to exercise in their attempt to project authority in the surrounding region.

The importance of the link between place and ideology was already pre-figured in the discussion of memory in chapter one, where I maintained, following Halbwachs and others, that communal recollections were capable of being engendered through the encounter with places and (re)constructed in response to a location's material frameworks. The argument of the following is that a closely related connection between place and ideology exists. The question to be taken up here therefore concerns the manner in which the physical setting of ancient Jerusalem—its natural landscape, communal spaces, and architecture—potentially effected a certain system of values and beliefs among those who experienced it, and how this ideology of place may have been utilized as a tool to promote the legitimacy of those who ruled from it.

Prompted by Lefebvre's notion of "representational" or "lived space,"⁵⁴ the interest in place and ideology explored in this section is also supported by Althusser's seminal essay on ideology and ideological state apparatuses.⁵⁵ Most noteworthy about Althusser's essay for this investigation is the accent placed on the essential material dimension of ideology: "An ideology," Althusser writes, "always exists in an apparatus, and its practice, or practices. This existence is material."⁵⁶

Consequential about Althusser's writings on the materiality of ideology is the import places receive as the loci of those practices that contribute toward the production of certain ideological perspectives. This emphasis on

the link between the material dimensions of places and the ideological perspective they provoke encourages the historian to move beyond a concentration on spoken and written discourse and investigate as well the manifold ways in which a particular ideology may have become garbed in physical form: the style and expertise of monuments crafted for a ruler, the layout and grandeur of a palace, or the architectural nuances and civic location of a temple. Althusser writes:

This ideology talks of actions. I shall talk of actions inserted into *practices*. And I shall point out that these actions are governed by the *rituals* in which these practices are inscribed, *within the material conditions of an ideological apparatus*, be it only a small part of that apparatus: a small mass in a small church, a funeral, a minor match at a sports' club, a school day, a political party meeting, etc.⁵⁷

Meaningful about this understanding of ideology is its movement away from abstract notions surrounding the formation of ideological beliefs, in which an idea is catechized, for example, simply through the thoughts and teachings of leading authorities. Rather, the contention of Althusser's essay is that the success of a certain ideology was much more dependent on the material world within which its "systems of representations" were rooted and embodied through practice: a place of worship, a place of mourning, a place of sport, or a place of political assembly in which specific locations guided participants' actions and contributed toward the acceptance of a certain set of beliefs. Paraphrasing Pascal, Althusser writes of this physical, embodied relationship between place, practice, and ideology: "kneel down, move your lips in prayer, and belief will come."⁵⁸

Though the modern ideological apparatuses described in Althusser's essay are concerned with political systems and technologies different than those that once existed in ancient societies, the attempt to influence the perceptions of others through architectural manifestations of power or those religio-political rituals connected to them are as rooted in antiquity as they are in our own world.⁵⁹ Key to a historical investigation of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem, accordingly, is the potential ways in which an "ideology of place" was promulgated in the southern Levant through the site of Jerusalem itself, in which more subtle and pronounced features of this location acted as an ideological resource or "apparatus" through which power was once exercised.

5.2.1 Ideology and Movement of Place: Jerusalem and "Disembedded Capitals"

The rise of Jerusalem as a center of local authority in the early 10th century BCE, as with other Phoenician, Aramean, or Philistine cities, would have been enabled in some sense by a momentary power vacuum or "Dark

Age”⁶⁰ in the ancient Near East during which time enterprising local leaders in the Levant could exert their power in a manner unprecedented in the region’s previous centuries when the southern Levant was controlled to varying degrees by Egypt. In addition to these geopolitical conditions, the early 10th century BCE was also an era in which the emergence of new agrarian technologies and increased tribal settlement gave “the agro-pastoral component a more relevant political-institutional and socio-economic role (as compared with the past),” with political activity overall in the ancient Near East “unrestrained by any external influence.”⁶¹

Within this power vacuum of the 11th–10th centuries BCE, the selection of the stronghold of Jerusalem as a new ruling center in the southern Levant would have carried with it particular ideological ramifications. The first is witnessed in Jerusalem’s relationship to the broader historical phenomenon of “disembedded capitals” in the ancient Near East. A disembedded capital, A. Joffe writes, is a capital city established at a location removed from older administrative and cultural centers of power within a region.⁶² The intent behind this manner of relocation, it appears, was the destabilization brought about through a movement of place: in the transfer of a capital to a new location absent of older political and cultural networks, venerable institutions and elite families long present at a former ruling center would have had their influence considerably curtailed, thereby allowing other leaders to acquire a previously unrealized degree of autonomy and authority. In keeping with the decisions of Sargon the Great in the 23rd century BCE, Akhenaten in the 14th century BCE, and Sennacherib in the 8th century BCE, for example, to establish new capital cities during their rise to power, Joffe also connects the relocation of David’s center of rule from Hebron to Jerusalem to this wider phenomenon.⁶³

The immediate difficulty with Joffe’s understanding of Jerusalem as a disembedded capital is that the early 10th-century BCE stronghold was not, as with the disembedded capitals of Egypt and Mesopotamia, constructed *de novo*. Nevertheless, the biblical allusions to Jerusalem’s non-Israelite past before David are important traditions to take into account when considering the movement of David’s center of power. That is, though Jerusalem’s history reached back in time centuries before the early 10th century BCE, its perception as a non-Israelite city outside the domain of influential Israelite tribal centers (such as Shiloh, Shechem, or Hebron) within the biblical narrative is significant. For, despite its prior history within the southern Levant, the memory of Jerusalem as a city ruled by local Canaanites before the early 10th century BCE is a peculiar feature of its description in the biblical corpus, and it is unlikely that this understanding of Jerusalem’s past would have been concocted at a later period in time. Accordingly, the decision to acquire Jerusalem and establish it as a new Israelite ruling center would have occasioned a similar destabilization of older political networks as that sought by those ancient Near Eastern rulers who established new capital cities on virgin soil. The literary memories of David’s decision to transfer his

rule from Hebron to Jerusalem thus accords well with a particular feature of Joffe's description of disembedded capitals: namely, the movement of a ruling center away from older sites of power to politically neutral locations not traditionally connected to older places of political significance.

When viewed from this wider, ancient Near Eastern lens, the very movement of a ruling center from the southern Judahite capital of Hebron to Jerusalem can be perceived as a gesture replete with ideological implications. To occupy Jerusalem and establish it as a capital for a new ruling house in the central highlands, particularly at a moment in time when former empires in the ancient Near East were incapable of inhibiting local projections of power, would have provided a local highland leader the opportunity to both debilitate older elite networks at other influential Iron Age I/IIA sites in the southern Levant and create a highland center affiliated foremost with a particular ruler, and not the tribal elders of Judah, Benjamin, or Ephraim.⁶⁴ That David is said to have renamed Jerusalem the "City of David" (2 Sam 5:9) only further confirms what, from this ideological perspective, would have been expected of an ancient Near Eastern ruler who engaged in this manner of relocation: from the naming of *Kār Tukulti Ninurta* ("the haven of Tukulti Ninurta") in the 13th century BCE to *Dūr Šarrukīn* ("the fortress of Sargon") in the late 8th century, the memory of Jerusalem being renamed the "City of David" coheres well with the wider, ancient Near Eastern practice in which leaders projected authority by ruling from a location that bore their names.

With the transfer of David's rule from Hebron to Jerusalem, a new royal ideology would have thus been possible, and one no longer primarily dependent on older elite networks and tribal systems in the southern Levant. Noteworthy about the biblical description of this relocation from Hebron to Jerusalem, then, is that the new name bestowed on Jerusalem was not one connected to a divine sanctuary (e.g. Bethel, Beth Shemesh), tribal group (Dan, Gibeah of Benjamin), or natural feature (Kiriath-jearim, Beersheba), but was instead wed to an individual: the city "of David." In renaming Jerusalem in this manner, the very landscape of the location would have become inextricably linked with the authority of that dynasty which bore David's name.

No longer principally bound to Judahite tribal concerns in Hebron or beholden to its faction of elders, the transfer of political power to Jerusalem would have allowed a figure such as David to create his own elite networks and administrative hierarchy at that site now identified with him. In addition, this movement of place to Jerusalem announced to other Levantine leaders that Hebron, on the southern frontier of the central highlands, was no longer adequate for the political aspirations of a new ruling house in the region. Instead, a more centralized location in the highlands with a long heritage of political authority had been chosen from which to extend the House of David's power. Yet in light of Smith's careful study on the relational character of political authority exercised in space and the necessity

of legitimization between even asymmetrical power relationships,⁶⁵ the success and duration of a new administrative center at Jerusalem would have depended on more than the pure ideological force of spatial relocation itself; instead, a site required a certain degree of “re-embeddedness” and acceptance back into the social fabric from which a ruler descended.⁶⁶ The failure of Akhetaten or *Dūr Šarrukīn* to survive as capital cities past the death of their founders testifies to the manifold problems involved in persuading a populace to accept a new ruling center as legitimate.

How a ruler accomplished this act of legitimization depended, in part, on a leader's ability to utilize the ideological resources of place at his or her disposal. Joffe writes, for example, that the success of a new capital in the ancient Near East entailed “adroit administrative and ideological manipulations” by rulers that tapped into preexisting traditions and institutions in order to “to legitimize themselves and administer the domain.”⁶⁷ In an important sense, then, Jerusalem's previous history as a local ruling center in the central highlands, even if outside Israelite tribal territory, likely contributed to its acceptance as a new administrative site by highland peoples aware of Jerusalem's past. Tribal ties to other settlements and the complex elite networks established at locations such as Hebron, Gibeah, or Shechem, however, suggest that Jerusalem's acceptance as a new capital in the region would not have been assured. In addition to the ideological implications inherent to the very act of moving a capital center, it is also necessary, therefore, to examine those possible material features of ancient Jerusalem that may have been capable of contributing to an ideology of authority for those who ruled from it. Though the material remains of this settlement have not produced the intricate palace reliefs from Nineveh or the finely carved cartouches of Thebes that project a spectacular royal ideology, the historian can nevertheless return to the spaces of the site described above and consider again, from a different viewpoint, their ideological potential.

5.2.2 Ideology and its Material Existence: Early 10th-Century BCE Jerusalem

Jerusalem's physical setting does not overwhelm. Bordering on a desert and surrounded by a series of valleys and hills, Jerusalem was not situated within an important harbor or on the banks of an impressive river, nor was it even built atop the highest mount in its vicinity. Nevertheless, Jerusalem's semi-arid climate and the site's location on the edge of the Judean desert endowed two of its features with particular significance: the presence of subterranean water, most notably manifested in the Gihon Spring, and the conservation of rain water brought about through an intricate terracing system along the Kidron Valley.⁶⁸ The presence and preservation of water through both spring and terraces would have contributed not only to the essential water and food needs of Jerusalem's inhabitants, but also to a particular ideology of the settlement itself: Jerusalem as a site of life and abundance.

Lost on those unaccustomed to arid and semiarid climates is the power evoked by a site in the central highlands of the southern Levant, or in the ancient Near East more broadly, that was able to support spaces of rare or lush vegetation. The well-attested practice of both Assyrian and Achaemenid rulers, for example, to project an ideology of paradisaical fecundity for their rule precisely through the display of sumptuous royal gardens offers important intimations of the ideological potential such an abundance of foliage, and the water resources it required, possessed in the ancient Near East. A case in point stems from Assurnasirpal II's (883–859 BCE) description of the garden he planted in Nimrud (Kalhu):

I dug out a canal from the Upper Zab, cutting through a mountain peak, and called it "Abundance Canal" . . . I planted seeds and plants that I had found in the countries through which I had marched and in the highlands which I had crossed: pines of different kinds, cypresses and junipers of different kinds, almonds, dates, ebony, rosewood, olive, oak, tamarisk, walnut, terebinth and ash, fir, pomegranate, pear, quince, fig, grapevine. The canal-water gushes from above into the gardens; fragrance pervades the walkways, streams of water as numerous as the stars of heaven flow in the pleasure garden.⁶⁹ Similar to the power claimed through this description of Assurnasirpal's royal garden, deep ideological beliefs also supported the creation of the famed Persian *paradaida*, with a central task of empire being one of transporting species of flora from abroad in order to be planted in royal gardens devoted to Zoroastian notions of "primordial happiness."⁷⁰

The possibility of Jerusalem's subterranean waterworks feeding into fields in the Kidron Valley,⁷¹ references to later royal gardens in Jerusalem within this valley (2 Kings 21:18, 26; 25:4; Jer 39:8), the rich description of flora connected to the temple (Ps 52:8; 92:12–13), and the sophisticated



Figure 5.8 Garden Scene of the Reign of Ashurbanipal (ca. 645 BCE)

terracing network along the Kidron are all then suggestive of Jerusalem's potential to sustain a variety and quantity of vegetation in a region where such places were scarce. Stager's observations on the terraces built along the Kidron intimate the ideological impact Jerusalem's water resources would have presented to those who approached it in antiquity: "To a Late Bronze or Iron Age passerby looking up to the west from the Kidron Valley, the east slope of Jerusalem would have appeared rather like a great flight of stairs with houses and gardens perched on each step."⁷² Thus, whether found in the terraced orchards and fields along the Kidron Valley or through those more modest predecessors of later Judahite royal gardens, the presence and conservation of water in Jerusalem would have been a significant ideological resource capable of promoting Jerusalem as a site of plenitude in a region devoid of such sights and smells (cf. Ezek 47).

Alongside its water resources, early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem's topography and defensive architecture would have also formed a significant material component of the site's ideological effect. The most consequential structure excavated from this period in the site's history is the large, support complex described above and, if dated to the Iron I, the Large Stone Building located atop it at the most elevated section of the City of David. Yet, whether viewed in terms of the more limited terraced support system or the entire monumental edifice, either architectural component would have demanded exceptionally large amounts of labor through the terracing needed to support them along the Kidron Valley, and both structures would have had a very public orientation toward those who journeyed to the settlement. That the support system and its large buildings on the east slope of Jerusalem were a unique architectural phenomenon in the southern hill country of its time is also indicative of the ideological power they would have conveyed through their images of unparalleled organization, permanence, and communal strength.⁷³ Hazy memories of the Jebusite refusal to relinquish their stronghold and the taunts levied at David from the site (2 Sam 5:6) are, regardless of their historicity, suggestive of the ideology of inviolability that Jerusalem may have evoked for those who dwelled within it.

Alongside these Iron I/Iron IIA monumental remains from Jerusalem, an understanding of the settlement's ideology must also take into account those other architectural features present at the site that were constructed by Jerusalem's previous inhabitants. In this vein, the impressive Middle Bronze Age fortifications unearthed by Reich and Shukron around the Gihon Spring are significant.⁷⁴ Monumental Middle Bronze Age towers adjacent to the Gihon Spring and a deep, rock-cut pool to its west attest, for example, to a massive fortification system erected within this area of Jerusalem centuries before the Davidic era.⁷⁵ In addition to the six and a half to seven meter thick walls that once supported these fortifications, more recent excavations have recovered an ancient corridor created through the construction of two, large Middle Bronze Age walls (Walls 108 and 109) that once connected to a "Spring Tower," and that ran up the east slope of Jerusalem for at least

forty-five meters to the settlement above.⁷⁶ It must be emphasized that no Iron I or Iron IIA pottery has been found within any of these Middle Bronze Age structures, and it is likely that the corridor to the Gihon had gone out of use shortly after it was built. At the same time, however, there is no evidence to suggest that the large walls that sloped down to the Gihon or the massive fortifications of the Spring Tower were ever fully or partially dismantled by the time of the Iron I/IIA period, and thus there is little reason to doubt that remains of this fortification system were still present and able to be perceived, to some extent, within the Jerusalem of the early 10th century BCE.⁷⁷ Accordingly, though these Middle Bronze Age structures may have lost their functionality by the Davidic era, their massive ruins would have attested to Jerusalem's previous authority and contributed towards the site's ideological influence on those who encountered it.

When viewed together, the natural and built environment of early 10th-century Jerusalem suggests that material dimensions of the settlement would have made the site a significant royal monument capable of exerting an ideology of strength and security for those ruling from it. The images of Jerusalem's unique architectural features as one approached the settlement, its position atop a hilltop spur guarded by valleys to its east and west, its display of vegetation and water resources amid a semiarid terrain, the taste of the produce its terraced fields offered—such elements would have enriched an ideology of place through the manner in which individual movements and fields of vision were influenced by the fecundity of the landscape. Though certainly limited by the vicissitudes of three millennia of occupation and destruction, these features of the early 10th-century BCE settlement still available to the historian provide significant intimations of important conduits of royal power and authority in a region absent of other sites with a similar confluence of ideological features. With only very few extant royal documents or inscriptions stemming from the Levant during this period in time, such considerations suggest that the place of Jerusalem itself would have functioned as one of, if not the, most important ideological tools a highland ruler could acquire at this moment in the region's history.

The ideological effect of this Jerusalem in the early 10th century is difficult to ascertain in the absence of written accounts that can be situated confidently within this period. The tacit understanding of an "ideology of Jerusalem" developed here in relation to the location's physical dimensions, however, does appear in a meaningful way within written accounts from the biblical corpus. In Ps 48, for example, the poet reflects on Jerusalem's power through a number of mythological motifs, including the portrayal of a battle unfolding outside of Jerusalem's precincts: "then behold," the psalmist writes, "the kings assembled, they crossed over together, as soon as they saw it they were astounded, they were terrified, they fled" (Ps 48:5). Striking about these poetic lines is not the description of the foreign kings' dismay—which echoes a common theme of a deity's defeat of "the nations" found in other psalms (Ps 46:6–7; 76:13)—but rather the object of these

foreign kings' terror. Instead of an imposing army sent out from Jerusalem or a cosmic disturbance associated with the appearance of the gods, what induces fear in these foreign leaders according the psalmist is the physical contours of Jerusalem itself: "Circle around Zion, promenade all around it! Count its towers! Consider well its ramparts, walk between its citadels so that you may recount to the next generation that this is our God!" (Ps 48:13–15a).

Significant about these lines from the perspective of an ideology of Jerusalem is the manner in which the psalmist incorporated older Canaanite traditions of a "holy mountain" in the "far north" (Ps 48:2–3) and the dismay of foreign enemies,⁷⁸ and, at some point in time, connected these older traditions of inviolability to the physical appearance of Jerusalem itself. Though Mowinkel's attempt to link these verses to a ceremony consecrating Jerusalem's walls and civic structures somewhat overstates what can be ascertained, historically, from these verses,⁷⁹ the psalmist's allusions to seeing, hearing, and feeling the physical character of Jerusalem (Ps 48:9, 13–14) cannot be overemphasized in a consideration of Jerusalem's ideological potency. That is, with Ps 48, the historian encounters precisely the strong bond between the materiality of Jerusalem and an ideology of power anticipated from an examination of Jerusalem's physical character above. Indeed, so impressive are the physical attributes of Jerusalem for the psalmist that its towers, citadels, and ramparts act as metonyms for the divine: "Circle around Zion," the psalmist commands, because "this *is* our God." An ideology of Jerusalem linked to the physicality of the location could not be more strongly expressed.

My point in citing these references to Jerusalem in Ps 48 is not to argue that this poem was composed in the courts of David or promulgated by David himself in an effort to gain legitimacy. Rather, meaningful about this psalm for this investigation is that, regardless of its date of origin, it registers beliefs about Jerusalem indebted to notions of place, materiality, and power, and thus provides an ancient witness to the potential ideological influence of Jerusalem's physical spaces on a populace. In light of Ps 48, it can be argued that a particular ideology of place was connected at some point in time in antiquity with the site of Jerusalem, lending further textual support to the contention that the physical features of the location were able to effect certain ideological beliefs among those who experienced them.

A further textual intimation of how an ideology of place may have functioned at David's Jerusalem stems from references embedded in the Mesha Stele. From a comparative perspective, this ancient inscription offers important evidence regarding how another local Levantine leader constituted political power in a neighboring region a century after David's rule, and, even more, illustrates how a ruling center played a key role within this ruler's attempt to persuade tribal populations of claims to authority. By virtue of Moab's similar Iron Age tribal system, language, culture, and geography to that of the Cisjordanian highlands, a review of Mesha of Dibon's

negotiation of power in the Transjordan thus holds the potential to offer insights into how the place of Jerusalem may have helped to legitimize the House of David's political authority among local, kin-based tribal networks in the highlands of Israel and Judah.

In the 9th century BCE, Mesha of Dibon installed a famous stele (KAI 181) commemorating his military victories and building activities in Moab. In a study of the political discourse of the inscription, B. Routledge offers a perceptive analysis of the stele particularly attuned to the self-presentation of the Moabite ruler. In an important observation for the present study, Routledge argues that the language of the stele betrays Mesha's struggle to create a "pan-Moabite" identity centered on his native city of Dibon: the inscription's persistent references to the place name, "Moab," and its deity, Chemosh, Routledge contends, can be linked to the fact that both were only marginally recognized as authoritative in the region Mesha desired to rule.⁸⁰ At a moment in Moab's history, in other words, when members of its segmented society could have claimed a number of different identities—based on region (Madaba, line 8), city (Nebo, line 14), or kinship structures (men of Gad, line 10)—Routledge contends that Mesha's political authority in the territory depended on his ability to incorporate the smaller political units of his tribal society under his domain by prevailing upon these individuals that they were, indeed, Moabites, and persuading them that Mesha was their legitimate ruler.⁸¹ Fascinating in this context is that Mesha himself does not take on the identity of a "Moabite" but links himself to his native city: Mesha, king of Moab, "the Dibonite" (line 1)—thus illustrating well the complexities involved in forging a wider, nascent Moabite political entity in a region where Mesha himself was inclined to identity himself by birthplace.

Significant about Routledge's reading of the inscription is his emphasis on the fact that Mesha's attempt to acquire power was not dependent solely on force of arms (though military victories remained significant), but was also predicated on a specific discourse that asserted that Mesha was the true locus of power in the region. What is most important about Mesha's self-presentation for this investigation is that the authority Mesha professed in his stele was one continually linked to spatial references. To be sure, military success against "Israel" and the "House of Omri" (lines 5–21) is a key feature of the story recounted in this text, and was likely an important catalyst for the stele's creation. But a much more prominent feature of the inscription is Mesha's fervid concern with places in that region of Moab he sought to rule: the god Chemosh returns the "land of Madaba" to Mesha's kingdom (lines 8–9); Mesha rebuilds Baal-Meon and Qiryaten (lines 9–10); the men of Sharon and Meharit are relocated to a new city (lines 13–14); and Mesha conquers Ataroth, Nebo, and Yahaz, carrying off the cultic paraphernalia of Ataroth to the site of Qerioit (lines 11–21). Closer to Mesha's native city of Dibon, Mesha rebuilds Aroer and Bezer, and constructs a new road leading from the former to the Arnon River (lines 26–28).

In conjunction with Routledge's important arguments concerning Mesha's struggle to forge a pan-Moabite "people," I would add here, then, that Mesha's frequent reference to places and his account of their transformation through conquest and building measures is also an essential component of the stele's presentation of Mesha's authority. So important were the description of places within this inscription, in fact, that even chronology was suppressed in the account in order to give priority to a spatial perspective of Mesha's authority: as Green perceptively observes, sequential time is reordered in the text in favor of a geographical orientation to events that transpired in the past, with the recording of Mesha's activities beginning in the more northern sites of the Transjordan and concluding in the south. The description of Dibon as the capital and ideological center of Mesha's "Moab" was thus mirrored, physically, through its incorporation into the very center of Mesha's inscription.⁸²

Given this spatial connection to authority, Mesha's account of his works in Dibon merit special consideration for this investigation of David's Jerusalem. Though Mesha refers to building measures undertaken throughout the region he claims to rule, the domestic achievements set within Dibon are accorded a detail and prominence not found elsewhere in the inscription. Mesha states, for example, that he constructed a new quarter (קרחה) within Dibon in which was located a new sanctuary for the local deity Chemosh (line 4), and that he also built walls for a "parkland" (היערן), and the city's Ophel (lines 21–22). Further building measures in the capital include "gates and towers" (line 22), a palace for the king (line 23) and, perhaps most impressively, an artificial water reservoir located within the acropolis itself (line 24).

My interest in these features of Dibon does not stem from the historicity of the building measures themselves, but rather the amount of textual space given over to their description within Mesha's stele. This is to say that what is meaningful about Mesha's claims to rule over a nascent Moabite polity of competing interests and identities is that Mesha devotes a relatively large amount of writing toward an account of Dibon's features and transformation. Mesha's claim to authority within his stele is a discourse thus founded, in large measure, on the impressive physical features of a governing, central city. Whether or not these building measures actually took place, or whether those living in the far northern or southern reaches of "Moab" were persuaded of the legitimacy of Mesha to rule because of them is less important, for my purposes here, than Mesha's attempt to argue for political legitimacy through the appeal to particular locations.⁸³ Most significant about this inscription in terms of the present study, therefore, is the manner in which Mesha the Dibonite attempted to justify a claim to rule over a new "Moabite" people through a specific royal discourse predicated on Mesha's dominion over meaningful places.

The references to Dibon and its position within Mesha's inscription provides additional, indirect evidence concerning the ideological importance

of place for an Iron Age highland leader, and attests to how a local king could appeal to the physical features of a ruling center in an effort to claim jurisdiction over a local tribal population with varying loyalties and competing identities. In this sense, the Mesha stele intimates a particular ideology of place anticipated in this study of David's Jerusalem through Mesha's attempt to persuade others of his authority by alluding, in part, to a royal city and the spaces within them. The argument here is that early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem would have also been an important staging ground of political authority in the highland region of the southern Levant, in which the physical features and landscape of the "City of David" could be marshaled as a significant symbol of power for a highland leader ruling from it. With no royal inscription appearing in the region before the 9th century BCE, it is impossible to retrieve a more precise understanding of this ideology through contemporaneous texts commissioned by David. But the Mesha Inscription suggests that the sphere of authority maintained by a ruler in early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem was one sustained, in part, by the power projected through the experience of Jerusalem itself. The question to be addressed, then, is how those practices, rituals, and activities performed within Jerusalem may have further endowed this ideology of place with meaning.

5.2.3 Ideology as Practice: Zion and Early 10th-Century BCE Jerusalem

The most important ideological practices associated with Jerusalem or any ruling center in the ancient Levant would have been those rituals connected to its cultic sphere. Just as Mesha's first recorded act within his inscription was the construction of a sanctuary for the god Chemosh (line 4), so also would the House of David have been in need of divine legitimization for its rule from the new capital of Jerusalem. Given Jerusalem's long history before the early 10th century BCE, a crucial question concerns how this place, with its previous Canaanite cultural legacy,⁸⁴ was established as a legitimate religio-political center for a new local dynasty that ruled from it for the next four hundred years. A starting point for this analysis is provided with the name given by the Hebrew Bible to the most influential religio-political ideology affixed to the site of Jerusalem and the House of David: Zion.

The Zion traditions, though likely arising out of notions of the divine kingship of Yhwh and the ark as the deity's abode (and therefore of different, earlier traditions than either the election of the House of David or the city of Jerusalem),⁸⁵ nevertheless coalesced in the Hebrew Bible around the twin focus of Jerusalem as the divine mountain of Yhwh and the House of David as the city's eternal rulers. Psalm 132, for example, declares that Yhwh "made an oath to David" that promised that his sons would "dwell on his throne forevermore" (Ps 132:11–12), with Zion being chosen as

Yhwh's "resting place forever" (Ps 132: 13–14). Another Zion psalm reads that Yhwh "chose the tribe of Judah, Mount Zion which he loves . . . and he chose his servant David" (Ps 78:68, 70a). And, in perhaps the most cited expression of this ideology, 2 Sam 7:16 finds Yhwh promising David that in Jerusalem, "Your house and your kingship will be made secure forever before me; your throne will be established forever" (2 Sam 7:16).⁸⁶ These references toward the divine election of city and ruler thus offer a pointed expression of what became a central ideological representation of Jerusalem and the Davidides in the biblical corpus: namely, Jerusalem as the inviolable, eternal city protected by Yhwh and governed by the divinely ordained House of David.

That a robust Zion ideology can be said to have emerged, in time, with a focus on the House of David and Jerusalem nonetheless leaves unanswered the question of this ideology's historical antecedents—with suppositions as varied as late postexilic conflicts in the Hasmonean period,⁸⁷ or Isaiah's frequent allusions to this tradition during the city's remarkable evasion of Assyrian aggression in the late 8th century BCE.⁸⁸ J.J.M. Roberts, in a series of important essays on the question of the origins of the Zion traditions in the Hebrew Bible, nevertheless situates the beginnings of this pro-Davidic, pro-Jerusalem Zion ideology in the 10th century BCE with the reigns of David and Solomon.⁸⁹ Roberts's decision to date the inception of these Zion traditions within this period is founded principally on a reading of the biblical portrayal of David's burgeoning empire in the Levant and the required theological/ideological justification needed by such a ruler to establish his kingdom from Jerusalem, a scenario Roberts connects to similar appeals of divine justification from Neo-Assyrian rulers during the expansion of their empires shortly after this time.⁹⁰

Roberts's reflections on the development of an early Iron Age Zion ideology at Jerusalem are particularly significant for this investigation's interest in the ideological character of the late Iron I/early Iron IIA location. Indeed, a crucial question put forward by Roberts for this study is why the biblical scribes were so profoundly invested in the figure of David within their Zion formulations, especially considering the dark underside to the representation of David's reign in Samuel-Kings and David's failure, according to these and later writings, to build a temple for the deity that promised the king an eternal throne in Jerusalem. The key issue raised by Roberts, therefore, is why the Zion traditions do not name Solomon the temple-builder as the one chosen by Yhwh or, given Jerusalem's later growth and increased authority in the late Iron Age, why the biblical scribes writing in this era did not cite Hezekiah or Josiah as the true inspiration behind Jerusalem's divine blessedness. Answering this question by contending that David was a mythical founding figure invented by later scribes in the creation a new Zion ideology requires evidence that this type of ideological construct—in which a robust and powerful royal ideology written into a number of different texts was connected to an imaginary king instead of being utilized by

a present ruler—was permitted to develop within the palace courts of the ancient Near East. Such a quest will find few examples from antiquity.

Roberts's straightforward interpretation of a Zion ideology being promulgated by an early 10th-century BCE local warlord in need of divine legitimacy during the relocation of his capital to Jerusalem thus carries considerable historical merit. Nevertheless, the great difficulty in dating Zion (or other Davidic) texts with precision, and this study's emphasis on the long, fragile process undergirding the transmission of those cultural memories that informed these texts, recommends caution in linking these writings directly and unproblematically with a late Iron I/early Iron IIA context. That a written Hebrew vernacular began to flourish a century after David's assumed reign, that local Levantine kings began to construct royal memorial inscriptions only after contact with Assyrian royal ideology in the 9th century BCE, and that any Davidic kingdom during the Iron I/Iron IIA transition was considerably more limited than previous generations of scholars believed, further encourages discretion in dating Zion texts to a Davidic era.⁹¹

The initial thrust of Roberts's argument concerning the potential legitimacy offered by an older Zion ideology for a recently established highland capital and its new ruling house, particularly at a crucial moment in time when both would have required it, is, however, quite perceptive. A deity's decision to abide at a location and protect its inhabitants—whether in Assur, Babylon, or Jerusalem—was a powerful ideological motif employed throughout the literature of the major administrative and cultic centers in the ancient Near East, and appeared already in these regions by the late 3rd/early 2nd millennium BCE, or at least a thousand years before the biblical David would have assumed the throne.⁹² Whether or not a mature Zion ideology was actively developed in the court of late Iron I/IIA Jerusalem, as it is later reflected in the books of Isaiah, Samuel-Kings, the Psalms, or Lamentations, is a question that requires more evidence than is presently available. But what can be suggested here in a more cautious application of Roberts's insights, is that the spark of this pro-Davidic, pro-Jerusalem ideology of Zion found in these later biblical writings would have occurred in the early 10th century BCE with the relocation of a highland leader's ruling center to the stronghold of Jerusalem. This study would contend, then, that the seeds of this Zion ideology were not sown with the imperial expansion of a great Levantine power centered in an impressive capital city at the turn of the first millennium BCE, but that this ideology was connected with the struggles of legitimization that emanated out of a modest highland center during the late Iron I/early Iron IIA period—a struggle for authority encountered in a similar manner by many enterprising leaders in the small polities of the Levant in the century to follow, whether they were centered in Aram-Damascus, Rabbath-Ammon, or Dibon. In this sense, a mature Zion ideology exalting the location of Jerusalem and the House of David may not have “crystallized”⁹³ in royal, imperial texts produced during the early 10th century BCE,

but was rather catalyzed in Jerusalem's rise as the capital of a modest Iron Age Levantine polity and developed further in the centuries to come.

Locating the harbinger of a Jerusalem-centered Zion ideology with the movement of the Davidides to the highland stronghold of Jerusalem in the early 10th century BCE invites the historian to reflect on those biblical references that describe the beginnings of a Davidic-sponsored Yahwistic cult at the highland location: namely, the transfer of the ark of Yhwh from the site of Kiriath-jearim (or "Baalath Judah") to Jerusalem as recounted in 2 Sam 6. In viewing Jerusalem as a disembedded capital, the argument here has been that the leader of a new ruling center would have been required to persuade tribal groups and local communities of this location's legitimacy over and against former tribal centers such as Shiloh, Shechem, Gibeah, or Hebron. And, with this need to re-embed Jerusalem into the sociopolitical fabric of the highlands, the biblical narrative provides a detailed account of how a highland leader may have utilized the ideological resources of ritual and space to do so. 2 Sam 6:12b–15, 16b–17 reads:

Thus David went and brought up the ark of Yahweh from the house of Obed-edom to the City of David with rejoicing. And, when those who carried the ark of Yahweh had gone six steps, he sacrificed an ox and a fatling. David, girded with a linen ephod, danced with all his might before Yahweh. Thus David and all Israel brought the ark of Yahweh up with shouting and the sound of the shofar . . . and when she [Michal] saw King David leaping and dancing before Yahweh, she despised him. They brought the ark of Yahweh in and set it up in its place, inside the tent David had pitched for it, and David offered up burnt offerings before Yahweh.

Meaningful about this detailed description of David's action before the ark is the central role of the king in the procession of the divine palladium into Jerusalem. From an ideological standpoint, David's intimate involvement with the ark's movement is of paramount importance, and one in keeping with the notable cultic activities expected of ancient Near Eastern rulers with the founding of a new royal city.⁹⁴ Unable to gain legitimacy solely through military means or by force of personality, 2 Sam 6 suggests that David was also required to engage in a sophisticated public use of space and ritual in order to persuade a populace of Jerusalem's new authority under the House of David.

A myriad of historians, from Wellhausen⁹⁵ to Noth⁹⁶ to McCarter,⁹⁷ have taken up the question of the political implications of David's transfer of the ark, orienting their research toward the sociopolitical context in which David's decision to move the palladium would have occurred and the political possibilities such a transfer allowed. Yet, as C.L. Seow notes in his study of the ark procession into Jerusalem,⁹⁸ the biblical description of the ark's transfer is saturated with cultic language and imagery particularly indebted

to native Canaanite religious traditions, including that of Ba'al and the divine warrior.⁹⁹ Such references, Seow argues, suggest that the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem should not be conceived of solely in terms of a political display of authority, but also as a sophisticated cultic ritual in which the divine warrior became enthroned in the new center of Jerusalem as "king among the gods" in a synthesis of native Canaanite traditions relating to the deities El, Ba'al, and Yahweh.¹⁰⁰ The political impact of David's decision to move the ark, in other words, was one that could only take root through an appeal to the cultic beliefs already present among an early Iron Age highland population. Political and religious authority was consequently one and the same, with cultic displays reinforcing the power claimed by those performing these acts.

Memories of a very public ritual in which native cultic traditions were drawn on in order to enthrone a patron deity are suggestive, then, of how the place of Jerusalem both required and received divine legitimization. David's cultic dance before the ark during its procession into the capital and the sacrifices performed to a patron deity once the palladium was housed in Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:13–15) each attest, in their own way, to an intricate set of practices that drew on older cultic institutions and conventions familiar to those residing in the highland region. Sounds of music (2 Sam 6:15), sights of the cavalcade (2 Sam 6:14–15), smells of burnt offerings (6:17–18), the taste of raisin cakes (6:19) are all indicative of the embodied, visceral character of this particular cultic moment, and of an ideology affixed to the natural and built environment of the place in which this ritual was enacted.

In placing the ark in Jerusalem, David would have made known to surrounding populations that Yhwh's abode was no longer housed in the older Israelite center of Shiloh to the north (1 Sam 1–4), but now resided in the City of David located on the borders of Benjamin and Judah. If Jerusalem's natural and architectural features were capable of evoking a sense of power in the highland region of its time, the presence of Yhwh's ark in Jerusalem and the Canaanite/Israelite cultic practices associated with it would have also transfigured David's new capital into one of the most significant highland sanctuaries in the region, with deep roots into the southern Levant's collective past. The ideological potential of this prominent cultic sphere in Jerusalem can perhaps best be sensed in the later biblical stories surrounding Jeroboam's purported attempt to break the northern tribes' bond to the Davidides, and particularly in the words spoken by Jeroboam at this moment in time: "If this people continues to go up to offer sacrifices in the temple of Yhwh in Jerusalem," Jeroboam remarks, "the heart of this people will turn to their lord, King Rehoboam of Judah" (1 Kings 12:27).

This consideration of an "ideology of place" connected to early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem began with an interest in the natural and built environment of the site and concluded with a reflection on how this ideology may have helped to constitute and legitimize the House of David's authority among a loosely organized highland tribal society. For a site that

has left no epigraphic traces or extrabiblical texts pertaining to a specific royal ideology connected to the early 10th-century BCE settlement, and in the absence of contemporaneous ethnographic data detailing how Jerusalem was experienced by those farmers and warriors that lived within it, the preceding observations have attempted to focus on the more subtle features indicative of Jerusalem's ideological potential in the late Iron I/early Iron IIA era: the location's topography, elements of its architecture, and the echoes of a Zion ideology captured within later biblical texts.

Meaningful about this line of inquiry, I would contend, is that certain material traces of late Iron I/early Iron IIA Jerusalem are indicative of the site's ideological potential within a society of small, unwallled villages, pastoralists, and migratory populations. Meaningful as well is that literary memories from antiquity attest, at various moments, to the actualization of this very possibility. Consequently, in a manner similar to Mesha's attempt to evoke authority in his Transjordan region through an appeal to a dominion over significant places, so too, this section has argued, would a ruler of early 10th-century Jerusalem have been inclined to draw on the unique spaces of the site and foster a certain perception of power from it in order to persuade a tribal society of his or her capacity to rule. In a time devoid of large armies, instant means of communication, or the printed word so common to our world, the ideological power vested in a place would have been one of, if not the, most important ideological resources by which to promote one's authority in the southern Levant.

The biblical claims of Jerusalem as the capital of a Davidic empire stretching from the Euphrates to the Nile (1 Kings 4:21; 2 Chr 9: 26) bears little reality to the possible region a highland leader could administer and control in the early 10th century BCE. This observation, however, should not incline the historian to move to the opposite extreme of limiting Jerusalem's reach to only its immediate environs, or denying it altogether. The argument throughout this section has been that to understand Jerusalem's ideological reach, one must situate its specific configuration of physical features and spatial practices within its particular sociohistorical context. For the site of Jerusalem at the turn of the 1st millennium BCE, this ideology was one wed to a sophisticated amalgamation of symbols perceptible to an agrarian society devoid of another contemporaneous regal-ritual city in its vicinity, and whose reach in the southern Levant was not impeded at this time by the encroachment of Egyptian or Mesopotamian empires.

A consideration of that authority exercised by a local warrior ruling from the stronghold of Jerusalem in the early 10th century BCE must, then, take into account the relative power vacuum that existed in highlands during this era and the absence of other ritual-regal locations within the southern Levant. To draw on B. Anderson's classic study of nationalism, more important than a map's boundaries for an understanding of a particular polity's domain is the question of who imagined themselves to be part of a distinct political realm.¹⁰¹ More important than an attempt at creating

precise physical borders for a Davidic kingdom ruled from Jerusalem, therefore, is to reflect on the efficacy and persuasiveness of a pro-Davidic, pro-Jerusalemite ideology operating in the highlands in the late Iron I/early Iron IIA period. The question of the possible extent of a kingdom ruled from Jerusalem at this point in time is therefore something more than whether a Jerusalemite king subjugated a certain region or acquired specific lands cited in the Hebrew Bible, or if Jerusalem itself fulfilled certain neo-evolutionary traits regarding size, population, etc., to be considered a capital city of a "state." Instead, the question that requires consideration is this: to whom was David's Jerusalem a persuasive, ideological center of meaning that garnered loyalty and suppressed other claims to authority?

At a time of fluid identities and decentralized political power in the southern Levant, such a question is a decidedly difficult one to answer, and even more so considering that this period produced so few contemporaneous texts. The confluence of ideological factors present at the highland settlement at the beginning of the 10th century BCE, however, suggests that this Jerusalem was capable of disseminating an impressive royal authority throughout the highland regions of the southern Levant. If one were to hazard a tentative estimate of the political reach of a local kingdom centered at this location, its boundaries would likely mirror more the borders of David's kingdom observed in 2 Sam 8 than 1 Kings 4: abutting the Philistine territories to the west, the Negev to the south, the Aramean and Phoenician polities of the north, and Transjordan tribal populations to the east, the area subsumed within David's realm, at least in the period of the early 10th century BCE, can be plausibly understood to have extended over the highland territories stretching north past Shechem and south past Hebron. In the absence of Egyptian political machinations in the region and the decline of older Canaanite centers of power at this time, such as at Shechem or Gezer, this understanding of Jerusalem's authority would thus be seen in some sense as a natural extension of what Abdi-Heba's dominion could have been if that Late Bronze Age ruler had encountered a similar power vacuum in the highlands, and had been able to persuade various local tribal populations of Jerusalem's authority to rule.

In the end, what separates David's Jerusalem from those Jerusalems that came before is that the dynasty that ruled from it was able to persevere for over the course of four turbulent and destructive centuries in the Iron Age. Of course, Jerusalem's capacity to weather the existential threats of this period and remain the capital of the Davidides can be attributed in large measure to that unexpected moment in 701 BCE when Assyria dissolved its siege of the city and returned eastward. Yet the survival of Jerusalem and its Iron Age dynasty was the result of more than just this fortunate occurrence. Indeed, it is a significant historical feature of Jerusalem's past that the eventual capital cities of the northern Israelite kingdom—whether that of Tirzah or Samaria—never experienced the centralizing power of Jerusalem with their distance from the traditional highland cultic centers of Shiloh



Figure 5.9 Suggested Sphere of Jerusalem's Authority in Early 10th Century BCE

or Bethel.¹⁰² Thus, while Israel was plagued with dynastic strife and violent coups throughout its two-century existence, every Jerusalemite ruler for over four hundred years claimed the scepter of the House of David for the kingdom of Judah. The argument here has been that the stability of this dynasty cannot be understood apart from the strength of a particular regal-ritual ideology of place that linked the Davidides with the material dimensions of Jerusalem itself. Following biblical nomenclature, I have termed this ideology of place “Zion.”

5.3 CONCLUSION

This two-part investigation into early 10th-century Jerusalem has attempted to reconstruct the landscape and lifeways of that ancient settlement connected in the Hebrew Bible to the figure of David. In turning to this late Iron I/early Iron IIA settlement, my analysis in these chapters has been oriented toward the different realms of spatial experience outlined within the work of Lefebvre, and thus those various ways in which the place of Jerusalem itself shaped the lives of those who encountered it at the beginning of the 1st millennium BCE.

Given the length of time that likely elapsed between the early 10th century BCE and the composition of those stories about David in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, the discontinuities apparent between certain depictions of David's Jerusalem in these literary works and the reconstruction of the Iron I/IIA settlement offered here can be attributed in some sense, I would argue, to that supple character of cultural memory so influenced, Halbwachs contended, by the present material frameworks of those places in which a particular past was recollected.¹⁰³ When read against Jerusalem's later Iron Age history as a large capital city or against the backdrop of its destruction and slow rebirth in the postexilic era, the historian is able to perceive, in shadowy, faint outlines, how the physical transformations to Jerusalem in these later periods reshaped certain biblical memories of the ancient stronghold settlement that once existed in the early 10th century BCE. Even more, the relationship between the material culture of the highlands and the stories of David's reign attest to how much of this early Iron Age past likely fell out of Israelite and Judahite memory.

The fragile connections between particular biblical references to David's Jerusalem and the early 10th-century BCE settlement described here, however, pose the more difficult question as to how these points of semblance may have arose. In the absence of a large corpus of written texts from the early 10th century BCE detailing the affairs and appearance of Jerusalem, the best historical explanation for this phenomenon is that some memories connected to the late Iron I/early Iron IIA stronghold endured until they were written down and woven into the larger narrative complexes devoted to David's life. An important factor behind the endurance of such memories, I have asserted, is that certain physical spaces and features of early Iron Age Jerusalem endured into a later era of Jerusalem's history. To be sure, much of this early 10th-century BCE stronghold settlement would have been renovated and reconfigured as Jerusalem grew in the centuries following David's purported reign, particularly during its era of expansion in the late Iron Age. But in the absence of any signs of destruction to the location within the centuries stretching from 1000 BCE to 586 BCE, it is quite plausible that particular structures, or at least their ruins, would have survived into a time when memories of a Davidic past were first being incorporated into a vernacular narrative account of Israel and Judah's past. In this sense, the permanence of place, a location's capacity to envelope and preserve physical traces of a more ancient time, would have contributed to the preservation of certain memories connected to the early 10th-century BCE settlement.¹⁰⁴

Though formed through the lens of contemporary theoretical discussions pertaining to place, memory, and history, and therefore shaped through a different interpretive framework than that drawn on by Na'aman and A. Mazar's recent articles on Jerusalem and the biblical narrative, this final observation regarding the relationship between the literary references of the Hebrew Bible and Jerusalem's early Iron Age history nevertheless draws

near to certain insights made by these scholars concerning Jerusalem's Davidic past. Na'aman argues, for example, that late Iron Age scribes "had actually seen the walls and buildings whose construction they attributed to the early kings of Judah," and that these ancient writers thus connected their portrayal of Jerusalem to "local oral traditions" that "might have passed verbally from generation to generation and reached the authors of the biblical narratives."¹⁰⁵ In a similar vein, A. Mazar remarks that "in the case of Jerusalem, the preservation and transmission of historical memories during hundreds of years is a feasible possibility, since the city did not suffer any turmoil between the 10th and 7th centuries BCE."¹⁰⁶ My contention here has been that a sensitivity to the "elective affinity" of place and memory, and the patient articulation of the points of semblance and disconnect that emerge between biblical recollections of David's Jerusalem and the location's material remains, supports and elevates the suppositions of these scholars concerning the relationship between Jerusalem's past and certain literary references contained in the Hebrew Bible. The ramifications of this conclusion have been felt through these pages on the history of early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem.

Lastly, noteworthy about the late Iron I/early Iron IIA Jerusalem described here is its relationship to conceptions of David's ruling center in earlier histories of the site produced by previous generations of scholars or, even more, its long history of reception within art and literature. In contrast to these interpretations of David's capital, the Jerusalem of the early 10th century BCE, I have contended, was not an opulent, imperial city of dynastic elites, but a stronghold settlement of farmers, pastoralists, and local highland warriors who sought to take advantage of Jerusalem's resources in a rapidly changing highland society.



Figure 5.10 Jan van Scorel "Landscape with Bathsheba" (ca. 1540–1545)



Figure 5.11 Aert de Gelder, “King David” (1680–1685)

The portrayal of David and David’s Jerusalem in the paintings of Jan van Scorel and Aert de Gelder, for example, are thus significant not only for the common themes expressed about David’s capital city in the Western imagination, but also for their dramatic departure from the actual historical conditions of the early 10th-century BCE settlement.

With these points in mind, it is nevertheless important to also recognize that the flourishing of Jerusalem in later centuries had its seeds in the small, agrarian stronghold of the early 10th century BCE reconstructed in these chapters. The particular ideology that arose from this location and its synthesis of royal and cultic beliefs was therefore central to Jerusalem’s later identity and significance, as it still is to this day.

NOTES

1. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977): 188.
2. Albrecht Alt, “Jeruselems Aufstieg” (1925): 2–19.

3. Alt writes, "Die ganze Wendung geht vielmehr auf einen einzigen Mann zurück und läßt sich aus seinem Denken, Wollen und Handeln vollständig erklären: David!" *Ibid.*, 14.
4. For the most comprehensive treatments of Jerusalem's history in the 2nd millennium BCE, see Nadav Na'aman, "Canaanite Jerusalem and its Central Hill Country Neighbors in the Second Millennium BCE" (1992): 275–291; Jane Cahill, "Jerusalem at the Time of the Monarchy" (2003): 21–26; and Othmar Keel, *Die Geschichte Jerusalems und die Entstehung des Monotheismus*, Vol. I (2007): 75–100.
5. Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (1961): 126.
6. Amihai Mazar, "Jerusalem in the 10th Century B.C.E." (2006): 268.
7. Nadav Na'aman, "David's Stronghold and Samson's Rock of Etam" (2012): 436–37.
8. Avi Ofer, "'All the Hill Country of Judah'" (1994): 92–121.
9. Mario Liverani, "The Great Powers' Club" (2000): 15–27.
10. For a transliteration of the letters see J.A. Kundtson, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (1908).
11. Leaders of the city-states are at times termed rulers (*awīlu*) or kings (*šarru*), and were no doubt considered such by their inhabitants. William Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (1992): xxvii.
12. Moran, *Amarna Letters*, xxvi n. 70.
13. *Ibid.*, 330 fn. 16.
14. William Moran, "The Syrian Scribe of the Jerusalem Amarna Letters" (1975): 146–68. Based on the unique mixture of "Reichsakkadisch" and West Semiticisms in the language of the letter, Moran concludes (p. 274) that the scribe most likely came from an area north of Jerusalem in the domain of Syria—perhaps with Abdi-Heba himself. The recently recovered cuneiform inscription, or "Jerusalem Fragment," further attests to the presence of scribal activity in Jerusalem during the Late Bronze Age. See Eilat Mazar et al., "A Cuneiform Tablet from the Ophel in Jerusalem" (2010): 4–21.
15. Keel, I, 110.
16. Mario Liverani, *Le Lettere di El-Amarna* (1998): 94 fn. 117.
17. Israel Finkelstein, "The Last Labayu" (2006): 171–87.
18. Na'aman, "Canaanite Jerusalem," 189.
19. *Ibid.*, 187.
20. Nadav Na'aman, "Contribution of the Amarna Letters to the Debate on Jerusalem's Political Position in the Tenth Century B.C.E." (1996): 17–27.
21. Na'aman, "Contribution of the Amarna Letters," 8.
22. *Ibid.*, 7.
23. Amihai Mazar, "Jerusalem and its Vicinity in Iron Age I" (1994): 70–91.
24. Cahill, "Jerusalem at the Time of the Monarchy," 34.
25. Israel Finkelstein "The Archaeology of the United Monarchy" (1996): 177–87, *idem.*, "State Formation in Israel and Judah" (1999): 35–52; and Israel Finkelstein and Eli Piasezky, "The Iron Age Chronology Debate" (2011): 50–54. The CC dates the Iron I period from ca. 1200–1000 BCE and the Iron IIA period from 1000–925 BCE; the LC would extend the Iron I until ca. 925 BCE and begin the Iron IIA period at this point in time. The LC thus lowers the beginning of the Iron IIA by roughly seventy-five years.
26. Amihai Mazar, "The Debate over the Chronology of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant" (2005): 15–30.
27. Israel Finkelstein and Eli Piasezky, "The Iron I/IIA Transition in the Levant" (2010): 1678–1679; *cf. idem.*, "Radiocarbon-Dated Destruction Layers" (2009): 266–70.
28. Amihai Mazar, "The Debate over the Chronology," 15–30; *idem.*, "Archaeology and the Biblical Narrative" (2010): 31–34. Finkelstein's recent comments

- suggest that his periodization (LC) and Mazar's (MCC) are nearing closer consensus. Finkelstein and Piasezky, "The Iron Age Chronology Debate," 50–54.
29. Cahill, "Jerusalem at the Time of the Monarchy," 42. Amihai Mazar, "Jerusalem in the 10th Century B.C.E.," 259–60.
 30. Margreet Steiner, "Evidence from Kenyon's Excavations in Jerusalem" (2003): 351–361; Israel Finkelstein, "The Rise of Jerusalem and Judah" (2001): 84–86.
 31. Finkelstein admits of the Iron I structure that "The stone terraces on the eastern slope could have been built anytime between the late twelfth and early tenth century (LC). They probably function as a support for a significant construction effort up-slope." Finkelstein, "The Rise of Jerusalem and Judah," 88. Cf. Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen M. Kenyon in Jerusalem, 1961–1967*, Vol. III (2001): 38.
 32. Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David, I* (1984): 26.
 33. Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen Kenyon*, III, 41.
 34. Eilat Mazar, "Did I Find King David's Palace?" (2006): 16–27, 70; idem., *Preliminary Report on The City of David Excavations 2005* (2007): 44–52. For an important critique of E. Mazar's interpretation, see Israel Finkelstein et al., "Has King David's Palace in Jerusalem Been Found?" (2007): 142–164.
 35. Eilat Mazar, *Preliminary Report*, 46; and idem., *The Palace of King David* (2009): 56–57.
 36. Amihai Mazar, "Archaeology and the Biblical Narrative," 38–40.
 37. Avraham Faust, "The Large Stone Structure in Jerusalem" (2010): 121–22.
 38. Faust, "Large Stone Structure," 116–130; idem., "Did Eilat Mazar Find King David's Palace?" (2012): 47–52, 70; Amihai Mazar, "Archaeology and the Biblical Narrative," 38–40; Alon de Groot and Hannah Bernick-Greenberg, *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh*, Vol. VIIA (2012): 153.
 39. Finkelstein has rejected the interpretations of A. Mazar and Faust regarding the Large Stone Building's Iron I date and its connection to the Stepped Stone Structure. ["The Large Stone Structure in Jerusalem," 1–10]. Finkelstein's ad hominem attacks (stating that no "seasoned archaeologist" [p. 9] could draw the conclusions of Mazar and Faust regarding a 10th century BCE date) do little, however, to provide clarity to the interpretive problems that do persist with this structure.
 40. Eilat Mazar, *Palace of King David*, 57–60; Faust, "Large Stone Structure," 122–25.
 41. Shiloh, *City of David, I*, 26–27. De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg, VIIA, 150–54.
 42. Donald Ariel and Alon De Groot, "The Iron Age Extramural Occupation at the City of David and Additional Observations on the Siloam Channel" (2000): 158.
 43. For arguments for the continued use of Middle Bronze Age walls through the Iron IIA–IIB periods, see Amihai Mazar, "Archaeology and the Biblical Narrative," 48; and Cahill, "Jerusalem at the Time of the United Monarchy," 79–80.
 44. See the Rassam Cylinder from ca. 700/699 BCE (COS 2.119B).
 45. Israel Finkelstein, "State Formation in Israel and Judah" (2008): 36–42; and Avraham Faust, *The Archaeology of Israelite Society in Iron Age II* (2012): 255–62.
 46. Nadav Na'aman, "The 'Conquest of Canaan' in the Book of Joshua and in History" (1994): 239–242. See also Lester Grabbe, "Ethnic Groups in Jerusalem" (2003): 145–57. Cf. Ulrich Hübner, "Jerusalem und die Jebusiter" (2002): 31–42.

47. Alexander Fischer, *Von Hebron nach Jerusalem* (2004): 224–225.
48. Christa Schäfer-Lichtenberger, “David und Jerusalem” (1993): 197–211; and Ina Willi-Plein, “Keine Eroberung Jerusalems” (2010): 219–33. The notion of a peaceful transfer of power was, however, already maintained in W. Emery Barnes’s article, “David’s ‘Capture’ of the Jebusite ‘Citadel’ of Zion (2 Sam v. 6–9)” (1914): 29–39.
49. See again Baruch Halpern, *David’s Secret Demons* (2001): 319.
50. Douglas Green, “I Undertook Great Works” (2010).
51. For the historical plausibility of a scribe in David’s Court, see Ryan Byrne, “The Refuge of Scribalism in Iron I Palestine” (2007): 22–31; Nadav Na’aman, “Sources and Composition in the History of David” (1996): 170–86.
52. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (1991): 38–41.
53. Alt, “Jerusalems Aufstieg,” 13.
54. “Lived space,” (*l’espace vécu*) for Lefebvre, was space “directly lived through its associated images and symbols . . . it overlays physical space, making use of its objects. Thus representational spaces may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs.” Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38.
55. Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes toward an Investigation)” (1971): 127–86.
56. Althusser, “Ideology,” 166. Cf. Elizabeth DeMarrais et al., “Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies” (1996): 16.
57. Althusser, “Ideology,” 168. (Original Italics)
58. *Ibid.*, 168.
59. Irene Winter, “The King and the Cup” (1986): 253–268; *idem.*, “Representing Abundance: A Visual Dimension of the Agrarian State” (2007): 117–138. And, for investigations attuned to these historical questions regarding ancient Israel specifically, see Keith Whitelam, “The Symbols of Power” (1986): 166–173.
60. Amélie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, Vol. II (1995): 386.
61. Mario Liverani, *Israel’s History and the History of Israel* (2005): 77.
62. Alexander Joffe, “Disembedded Capitals in Western Asia Perspective” (1998): 549–80.
63. *Ibid.*, 566 fn. 6.
64. Joffe, “Disembedded Capitals,” 571.
65. Adam T. Smith, *The Political Landscape* (2003): 108–09.
66. Joffe, “Disembedded Capitals,” 573.
67. *Ibid.*, 573.
68. Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, “The History of the Gihon Spring in Jerusalem” (2004): 211–233; Lawrence Stager, “The Archaeology of the East Slope of Jerusalem and the Terraces of the Kidron,” (1982): 111–21; and *idem.*, “Jerusalem and the Garden of Eden” (1999): 183–94.
69. Stephanie Dalley, “Ancient Mesopotamian Gardens and the Identification of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon Resolved” (1993): 4.
70. Bruce Lincoln, *Religion, Empire, and Torture* (2007): 79–81.
71. Stager, “The Archeology of the East Slope of Jerusalem,” 121.
72. *Ibid.*, 112–13.
73. Amihai Mazar, “Archaeology and the Biblical Narrative,” 45.
74. Reich and Shukron, “The History of the Gihon Spring,” 211–223; and *idem.*, “A New Segment of the Middle Bronze Fortification” (2010): 141–53.
75. Reich and Shukron, “The History of the Gihon Spring,” 212–13.
76. Reich and Shukron, “A New Segment of the Middle Bronze Fortification,” 146–47.
77. That Wall 108 still stands to an incredible height of eight meters today attests to its durability and monumental character. *Ibid.*, 150.

78. W.F. Albright, "Baal Zaphon" (1950): 1–14; Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, Vol. I (1962): 151–53, 181–82; Ben Ollenburger, *Zion, the City of the Great King* (1987): 60–61.
79. Mowinckel, I, 182.
80. Bruce Routledge, "The Politics of Mesha (2000): 221–256. On this point, see also Seth Sanders's important observations in *The Invention of Hebrew* (2009): 114.
81. Routledge, "The Politics of Mesha," 239.
82. Green, "I Undertook Great Works," 112–119.
83. Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 114.
84. Shiloh, *City of David*, I, 59–60; Gabriel Barkay, "What's an Egyptian Temple Doing in Jerusalem?" (200): 48–57, 67; Keel, I, 92–100, 129.
85. Jon Levenson, "Zion Traditions," Vol. VI (1992): 1101; Richard Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (1972).
86. For the biblical deconstruction of this ideological perspective after the events of 586 BCE, see F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "R(az)aising Zion in Lamentations 2" (2004): 21–68.
87. Ingrid Hjelm, *Jerusalem's Rise to Sovereignty* (2004).
88. R.E. Clements, *Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem* (1980).
89. J.J.M. Roberts, "The Davidic Origin of the Zion tradition" (1973): 329–44; idem., "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire" (1982): 93–108; idem., "The Enthronement of Yhwh and David" (2002): 676; idem., "Solomon's Jerusalem and the Zion Tradition" (2003): 169.
90. Roberts, "Davidic Origin," 328–29 and idem., "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire," 343–347.
91. Roberts argument that David's kingdom was "the largest empire of its day" and that the Davidic-Solomonic period was a "golden age" in Jerusalem's history reflects common sentiments during previous generations of scholarship. Recent archaeological, epigraphic, and comparative literary evidence recovered since then, however, have shown these beliefs to be misguided. Roberts, "Davidic Origin," 324, 330.
92. The "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur" and "Curse of Akkad," for example, richly testify to the necessary presence of the gods, and of their support, for cities and their rulers to thrive. For a translation of these poems see Jeremy Black et al., eds, *The Literature of Ancient Sumer* (2004): 116–141.
93. Roberts, "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire," 344.
94. In the completion of both *Dur Šurrakīn* by Sargon II and Nineveh by Sennacherib, similar rituals introducing a patron deity into the new capitals were required. For a discussion, see P. Kyle McCarter Jr., *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*, (1984): 178–82. On the ideological implications of a Mesopotamian ruler's participation in the particularly prominent Akītu festival, see Beate Pongratz-Leisten, *Ina šulmi īrub: Die Kulttopographische und ideologische Programmatik der akītu-Prozession in Babylonien und Assyrien im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (2004).
95. Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (1973): 20–21.
96. Martin Noth, "Jerusalem and the Israelite Tradition" (1967): 134.
97. P. Kyle McCarter, "The Ritual Dedication of the City of David in 2 Samuel 6" (1983): 273–78.
98. C. L. Seow, *Myth, Drama, and the Politics of David's Dance* (1989).
99. *Ibid.*, 118, 142.
100. *Ibid.*, 142–44.

101. Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1991): 6.
102. Cf. Daniel Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible* (2012): 290–303.
103. “The stability [of memory],” Halbwachs remarks, “is at the mercy of all the material accidents that slowly transform or even destroy cities.” Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (1992): 204–05.
104. Edward Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (1987): 205, 189.
105. Nadav Na’aman, “Biblical and Historical Jerusalem in the Tenth and Fifth-Fourth Centuries BCE” (2012): 23.
106. Amihai Mazar, “Archaeology and the Biblical Narrative,” 46.

6 Conclusion

What historian has not had daydreams of being able, like Ulysses, to body forth the shades for questioning? But it is no longer the season of the miracles of the Nekuia, and we have no other device for returning through time except that which operates in our minds with the material provided by past generations.¹

This study of David's Jerusalem has attempted to address deep disagreements over the history of the location by considering the city's past through a number of distinct historical perspectives.² Each of these interpretive vantage points nevertheless grew out of a single methodological framework connected to the history of place, or a mode of inquiry in which places themselves are understood as a determinative historical influence on the course of affairs that once transpired within them. If a unifying theme can be identified within these pages, its accent would thus fall on how the place of Jerusalem itself shaped the practices and beliefs of those who encountered it in antiquity.

Prompted by a location's capacity to endure over great lengths of time,³ what resulted from this approach was a history that extended beyond the bounds of the early 10th century BCE and into those eras when stories about David's Jerusalem were being composed and revised by later biblical scribes. My history of "David's Jerusalem," in this sense, became something more than a straightforward account of a particular Iron Age settlement located in the highlands of the southern Levant, but developed into a history that also explored how this Jerusalem continued to be possessed by David in the memories of Jerusalem's later inhabitants. The final outcome of this methodology was an investigation that, to varying degrees and with different accents, spanned the course of a millennium.

In terms of those Hebrew scribes who recounted stories about this location's connection to David, this focus on the history of place permitted a more sustained investigation into how the site of Jerusalem influenced perceptions of its past among these ancient writers. Following the insights of recent theoretical treatments of place and memory, I connected this influence

to that “elective affinity” Casey describes between the material features of a location and the memories formed in response to it, or the manner in which “memories seek out particular places as their natural habitats”⁴ so as to be recollected once more. Importantly, this relationship between place and memory was found to hold two potentialities already outlined in Halbwachs’s early reflections on those pilgrimage sites in the Levant visited by Christian travelers in antiquity:⁵ in part, the physical remains of Jerusalem offered a certain stability for those memories about it to endure over time; conversely, the changing landscape of this location through the centuries held the power to fundamentally reshape certain memories attached to it.

In turning to the latter influence first, what became apparent in the course of those chapters devoted to the portrayal of David’s Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles was precisely cultural memory’s vulnerability to transformation and even negation in response to those later Jerusalems experienced by the scribes who composed these literary works. From David’s wandering into the Temple of Yhwh to mourn a dead son (2 Sam 12:20) to the king’s careful organization of Levites for cultic duties in the new capital (1 Chr 23), scribal circles writing from later Jerusalems repeatedly colored a Davidic past with hues drawn from their encounters with the Jerusalem of which they were familiar. In light of that profound effect rendered by a place on a remembered past,⁶ such adaptations and reconfigurations, it can be said, could not be otherwise.

In addition to these images, however, were those moments in the biblical narrative when references to David’s Jerusalem found more coherence with earlier periods in the site’s history than those later ones in which its stories were revised and written down. Here the stability offered to cultural memory through the durability of a location’s material features was found to help preserve certain allusions connected to an earlier Davidic era. In light of the fact that Iron Age Jerusalem escaped destruction during the volatile centuries that elapsed between the early 10th century BCE and its conflagration by the Babylonians in 586 BCE, a significant reason behind the endurance of the earlier Davidic memories, I contend, was the continuity of this location in terms of its material culture over time. To put it more succinctly, memories of a more remote Davidic past persisted within Jerusalem because of the persistence of Jerusalem itself.

It was only through this careful study of the dynamics of those cultural memories surrounding David’s Jerusalem that this investigation advanced its own historical reconstruction of the contours and lifeways of that early 10th-century BCE site connected to David in the Hebrew Bible. Guided by Lefebvre’s tripartite division of lived space, the first movement of this study focused on the mundane, everyday activities that would have constituted the vast majority of pursuits within this highland settlement. This accent on the agrarian sphere of Iron I/IIA Jerusalem had as its aim, then, a consideration of those frequently overlooked dimensions of historical experience within this location, from the agricultural tasks that predominated outside

its precincts to those meals prepared within a typical Jerusalemite home. From this perspective, significant about a turn to the history of place is that it holds the potential to democratize historical research and level certain historical distinctions made between a farmer or pastoralist and the ruling elite once present at a location. “In the past historians could be accused of only wanting to know about ‘the great deeds of kings,’” Ginzburg remarks in a seminal work devoted to the worldview of a 16th-century peasant, “but today this is no longer true.”⁷ In attending to those traces left behind at an ancient site by lives neglected, or forgotten, in the great stories composed by ancient literary cultures, my intent in this section was to value those other, often unperceived agents that contributed to the affairs that transpired at the settlement in antiquity.

It also became evident, however, that this Jerusalem, with its stronghold features and ideological resources, would have been a site of authority and meaning for that highland society in which it was embedded. In retracing its landscape and considering the ideology such a terrain could promote for those who ruled from it, early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem was found to be something more than a small village of little consequence, but was identified rather as a site of considerable prestige and meaning within a society that possessed few material manifestations of power that could match Jerusalem’s natural and built environment. At the same time, however, this modest four to five hectare settlement was not accorded the status of a mighty Levantine capital that oversaw a large Iron Age empire in the eastern Mediterranean region. Instead, this Jerusalem was described as an important highland site whose terrain and long heritage of local influence in the region was mobilized by a native leader in an effort to garner legitimacy among a tribal, kin-based society during a time when former empires could no longer inhibit such projections of authority in the highlands of the southern Levant.

The multiple frames of reference mustered within this work to reconstruct those aspects of David’s Jerusalem referred to here arose from the recognition that no one perspective could account for the richness of that past associated with the biblical David’s capital. In an effort to do some justice to this variegated and multi-layered history, this investigation thus employed a number of different reconstructive strategies that, when brought together in a single study, attempted to produce a more rounded and textured account of Jerusalem’s Davidic history. Unable to access a past directly to examine the totality of those historical experiences connected to a particular place and time, the argument of this study has been that it is necessary to retrace the contours of one’s historical subject matter again and again, obliquely and from different angles, in an effort to provide a more authentic representation of an ancient past.

For the history of that David connected in biblical memory to Jerusalem, this observation forms a significant point. For over against those many historical works that have attempted to recover a David of history

directly through those texts written about him by later scribes, a more robust understanding of such a figure comes into view, I contend, through those indirect considerations brought to light through the study of the history of place: the agrarian society a David would have oversaw, the homes which such an individual would have encountered, the terraces that this figure would have inspected, the ideological effects of the site capable of being used to promote an individual's legitimacy to rule. Admittedly, such images are fractured and provisional, and resist the certitude and comprehensiveness sought for a figure of such renown. But of those many interpretive problems encountered in locating a historical David through the biblical texts written about him, it can be said that the place of Jerusalem is something more than a *fata morgana* of the historian's imagination. To this day, remains from early 10th-century BCE Jerusalem can be visited and observed.

Such considerations touch once more on matters of historical method and practice. In the end, this work's turn to a history of place was motivated principally by those biting critiques levied by philosophers and theorists wary of the historian's interpretive framework and epistemological claims. Unable, in the wake of these arguments, to work by way of an appeal to the transparency of textual references or the naked facticity of archaeological data, this investigation was guided instead by a dialectical approach toward a constellation of material and textual traces that, from a reconstructive perspective, privileges neither but requires both. This hermeneutic without foundations gains traction, I have contended, because of the unique way in which the physical setting of an ancient site and the venerable memories attached to it interlace and resonate through one another into the present.

The final appearance of this history of David's Jerusalem is, in both form and content, quite distinct from traditional histories of Jerusalem specifically⁸ and of the southern Levant more generally. In contrast to the seminal works of Bright or Noth, Ahlström or Miller and Hays,⁹ my history of David's Jerusalem did not proceed chronologically with a straightforward narrative addressing, in a continuous fashion, key historical developments and events extending from Jerusalem's Bronze Age existence until the Hellenistic or Roman eras. Instead, my narrative has been deliberately indirect and multifaceted, mirroring in form what Ginzburg terms a conjectural, evidentiary paradigm of historical knowledge. The purpose of formulating my investigation in this manner was not to abdicate a responsibility toward representing the reality of a historical past, but was intended to reflect the epistemological complications of representing this ancient reality in the straightforward, confident manner of 19th- and early 20th-century historians. The organization and argumentation of this history of David's Jerusalem was therefore one that attempted to honor a historical epistemology of culture that, in Ginzburg's words, remains "discontinuous, lacunar, based only on fragments and ruins."¹⁰

Such epistemological considerations have also been directed throughout this study toward those ancient biblical stories that placed David's Jerusalem into our historical consciousness. Against those efforts, so common since the inauguration of a more rigorous academic discipline of history in the late 18th century, to view the writings of the biblical scribes as a form of retrospection and discourse commensurate with the work of historiography, this investigation instead endeavored to be sensitive to that rupture in historical thought and practice introduced through Enlightenment deliberations over the knowledge generated through history.¹¹ Separated from the biblical scribes not only by vast amounts of time, but also by a host of epistemological presuppositions concerning who set the past in motion and how it is to be known, my argument here has been that it is necessary to recognize with Bloch that we today approach the past differently than those in antiquity. For, unlike the storytellers of old, "it is no longer the season of the miracles of the Nekuia."¹²

In response to these epistemological concerns, I aligned those biblical references to David's Jerusalem with a form of past knowledge produced and sustained through the practices of cultural memory. In stepping back from the images of David's capital retraced in this book, the contrasts between the biblical portrayals of David's Jerusalem and my own historical reconstruction of the Iron I/IIA settlement are easily discernible. Positively stated, the confrontation of a modern, critical historical framework with the claims of memory provides the occasion for the reclamation of certain pasts forgotten or distorted in those stories recounted by Hebrew scribes in antiquity. A critical inquiry into a remembered past thus contributes in some sense toward the historian's obligation to tell stories about those things that have fallen into oblivion, or to amend that which was recollected erroneously or in order to deceive.¹³

But it also must be acknowledged that with the historian's critical inquiry into the biblical memories of David's Jerusalem, a deep schism is produced with those who have preserved these memories through the millennia. "In general," Halbwachs remarks, "history begins only when tradition ends, at the moment when social memory is faded or decomposes."¹⁴ From one direction, Nora offers a strong affirmation of the divide between history and memory, and an indictment against the power of a contemporary memorial culture that lacks the historian's courage to overthrow the "tyranny of memory" that threatens to distort a true understanding of what once was.¹⁵ From another perspective, Yerushalmi shares his deep discontent with that rupture introduced by critical research into a past preserved by communities of memory over the centuries. "I live with the ironic awareness," Yerushalmi writes at the end of his groundbreaking work so filled with melancholy, "that the very mode in which I delve into the Jewish past represents a decisive break with that past."¹⁶ An astonishing malaise enters into Yerushalmi's concluding thoughts on his work as a Jewish historian: "There may well come a time when a new consciousness will prevail that will wonder why so

many of us were immersed in history.”¹⁷ Ricoeur, in a sympathetic reading of Yerushalmi, comments: “These discontents are perhaps our own, all of us, the bastard children of Jewish memory and of the secularized history of the nineteenth century.”¹⁸

NOTES

1. Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (1953): 57.
2. E.g. Nadav Na'aman, “Cow Town or Royal Capital? Evidence for Iron Age Jerusalem” (1997): 43–47, 67; Jane Cahill, “David's Jerusalem: Fiction or Reality?” (1998): 34–41, 63; Margreet L. Steiner, “David's Jerusalem: Fiction or Reality?” (1998): 26–33, 62–63; Israel Finkelstein, “The Rise of Jerusalem and Judah” (2001): 105–115; Thomas Thompson, ed., *Jerusalem in Ancient History and Tradition* (2003); Eilat Mazar, “Did I Find King David's Palace?” *BAR* 32.1 (2006): 16–27, 70; Amihai Mazar, “Jerusalem in the 10th Century BCE: The Glass Half Full,” in *Essays on Ancient Israel in its Near Eastern Context* (2006), 255–272; Israel Finkelstein et al., “Has King David's Palace in Jerusalem Been Found?” (2007): 142–164; Avraham Faust, “The Large Stone Structure in Jerusalem: A Reexamination,” *ZDPV* 126.2 (2010): 116–30; idem., “Did Eilat Mazar Find King David's Palace?” *BAR* 38.5 (2012): 47–52, 70; Israel Finkelstein, “The ‘Large Stone Structure’ in Jerusalem” (2011): 1–10.
3. See again Aristotle's remark from his *Physics*: “For place does not perish when the things in it cease to be.” (*Physics* IV.1 [208b 35–209a 2])
4. Edward Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (1987): 213, 189.
5. Maurice Halbwachs, *La Topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre sainte*. (1973 [1941]).
6. Maurice Halbwachs, *La Mémoire Collective* (1968): 146.
7. Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms* (1980), xiii.
8. L. Hughes Vincent, *Jérusalem de l'ancien Testament* (2 vols.; 1954–56): esp. part II [“Évolution historique de la ville”]; John Gray, *A History of Jerusalem* (1969); Eckart Otto, *Jerusalem, die Geschichte der Heiligen Stadt* (1980); Eric Cline, *Jerusalem Besieged* (2004); Othmar Keel, *Die Geschichte Jerusalems und die Entstehung des Monotheismus* (2 vols; 2007); Simon Montefiore, *Jerusalem: A Biography* (2011).
9. Martin Noth, *Geschichte Israels* (1950); John Bright, *A History of Israel* (1959); J. Maxwell Miller and John Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (1986); Gösta Ahlström, *The History of Ancient Palestine from the Palaeolithic Period to Alexander's Conquest* (1993).
10. Carlo Ginzburg, *Threads and Traces* (2012): 24.
11. Arnaldo Momigliano, “Ancient History and the Antiquarian” (1950): 285–315; Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (2004): 192–204.
12. Bloch, 57.
13. Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (2004): 500.
14. Maurice Halbwachs, *La Mémoire Collective* (1968): 68.
15. Pierre Nora, “The Era of Commemoration,” Vol. III (1998): 637.
16. Yosef Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (1989): 81.
17. *Ibid.*, 103.
18. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 401.

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